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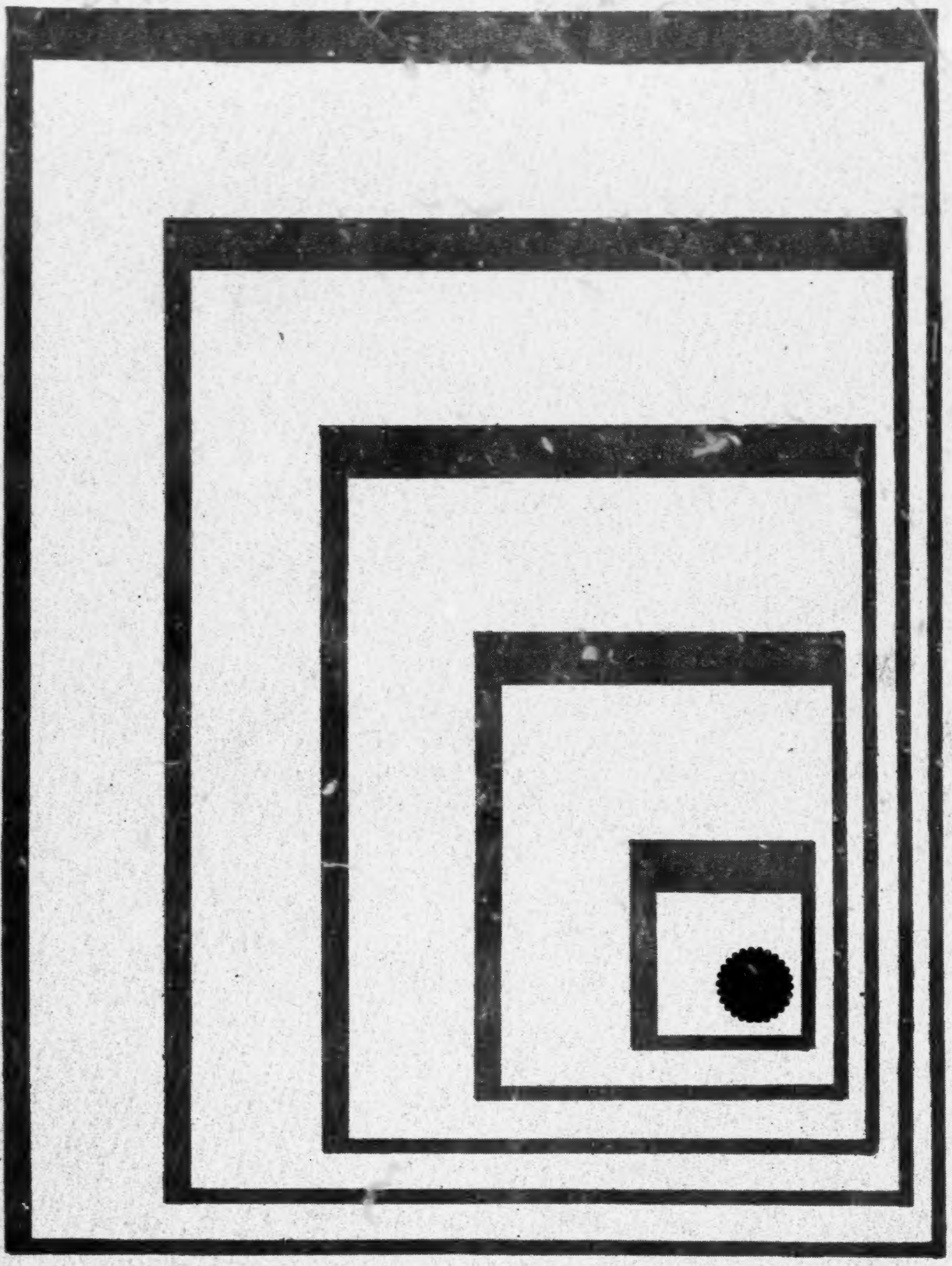

Proceedings of the Second Southern
Conference on Language Teaching
Atlanta, February, 1966

Sanford Newell, editor

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PREFACE

Writing a preface to Conference proceedings two years after the Conference took place obviously requires a feat of memory in which the present editor will be only partially successful. The history of this present volume, though, is in large measure the history of the Conference, and an accounting is in order for participants in the 1966 and 1967 Conferences.

To begin with, the Conference had no legal status until December, 1967, at which time its legal incorporation was completed. The organization of the unincorporated Conference was extremely informal and was run, more or less, by a Steering Committee composed of members who were never quite sure how they were appointed to the Committee. There were no by-laws and thus no ground rules to go by. In reality, most of the work of the organization for the first three Conferences was done by Louis Chatagnier, who had the original idea for the Conference, as chairman, by Herman Bostick, who was secretary for the 1965 and 1966 Conferences, and by Oscar Bonner, who served as secretary for the 1967 Conference. These three men did an enormous amount of work and the success of the first three conferences is due very largely and very really to them.

The Steering Committee, in truth, did very little of the actual work involved in planning the Conferences, but did offer suggestions about the Conference programs.

The finances of the Conference were dependent entirely on exhibitors' fees and on registration fees. We had not taken — in time — the excellent advice offered by Kenneth Mildenberger on page 89 of this present volume. Thus we found, in the fall of 1967, that we had no funds for the publication of the proceedings of the second and third Conferences.

In April, 1966, a group of members of the Steering Committee met for two days to work out by-laws and procedures for incorporation of the Conference. This group included Louis Chatagnier, Oscar Bonner, Salvatore Mangiafico, Gail Hutchinson, Karl Pond, and Sanford Newell. This group drew up the by-laws (which will be published with the proceedings of the fourth Conference held in New Orleans, in February, 1968) and recommended that the Conference be legally incorporated. The full Steering Committee had previously authorized incorporation. However, probably due to lack of formal organization, no steps were taken to implement that decision until over a year later when in May, 1967, the Steering Committee met in Atlanta, approved the by-laws with certain changes that the full Committee wanted, and named four persons, any three of whom could incorporate the Conference, again with instructions to proceed with incorporation. Again, no action was taken until the fall of 1967 at which time it was discovered that we did not have sufficient funds to publish the 1966 and 1967 proceedings. Four of the members of the Steering Committee then took it upon themselves to meet and attempt to resolve the financial difficulties. These four were Louis Chatagnier, Elisabeth G. Epting, Sanford Newell, and Karl S. Pond. This group met in Atlanta in October, 1967, and decided that, if funds could be found to publish the 1966 and 1967 proceedings, they would take it upon themselves to work toward legal incorporation, to plan a Conference for 1968, and to insure that the Conference would be established permanently. They decided further that, if such steps could not be taken, they would simply have to give the Conference decent burial because they felt morally obligated, as members of the former Steering Committee, to publish the 1966 and 1967 proceedings and to distribute them to participants in those Conferences.

The Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages very generously made a loan to the Southern Conference for the purpose of publishing the two volumes of Proceedings.

In the meantime incorporation procedures had been initiated with Sanford Newell, Karl S. Pond, and George W. Wilkins, Jr., serving as corporators. According to procedures specified in the by-laws the three corporators then named the first Board of Directors of twelve members in four classes of three members each, with the staggered terms of the classes ending in 1969, 1970, 1971, and 1972. The first Board of Directors are:

Alfred C. Aarons
Jacqueline Elliott
Elisabeth G. Epting
Theodore Andersson
Louis J. Chatagnier
Benjamin F. Hudson
Jean D. Charron
Sister Mary-Magdalen Lopinto, O.P.
Anthony LoRé
Sanford Newell
Karl S. Pond
George W. Wilkins, Jr.

Also according to the by-laws, the three corporators named the first slate of officers which included Louis Chatagnier as chairman, Karl S. Pond as vice-chairman, and Elisabeth G. Epting as secretary-treasurer.

Concurrently with these activities, a permanent secretariat was established, headed by the secretary-treasurer. An appeal was made throughout the South for sponsors and patrons to support the Conference financially, and the 1968 Conference was planned. At the same time, these Conference proceedings were published with plans for the 1967 proceedings to follow them by about two months.

In this present volume, no attempt has been made to disguise the chapters as being anything other than speeches, for that is exactly what they were. No attempt has been made to edit out remarks that were obviously oral and not written. The editor believes that as a result of this procedure these papers retain much of the freshness which they had when they were uttered for the first time in February, 1966.

There is some really good stuff in this book. The attentive reader will also find that not all the Chapters are of equal value, nor are all of them as pertinent now as they were in 1966. However, this is the historical record of the second Southern Conference On Language Teaching.

It is with deep regret that we were unable the publish some of the talks because we did not receive manuscripts of them and, unfortunately, the entire Conference was not recorded on magnetic tap

The need for the Southern Conference On Language Teaching is obvious from the enthusiastic response to the announcement of the first three Conferences, which had an average attendance of 1,000 participants. The quality of the Conference is evident from the material in the pages of this volume.

Sanford Newell
Converse College

February, 1968

Foreign Language Teachers – Born or Made?[*]

Wilmarth H. Starr
New York University

It is with pleasure that I bring to this second Southern Conference the greetings of the Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, which is now readying its 13th annual meeting. It is particularly fitting that I do so since I see in the audience Professor Theodore Andersson, now Chairman of Romance Languages at the University of Texas. Professor Andersson was one of the principal initiators of the idea of regional conferences on the teaching of foreign languages in the days of the Yale-Barnard prototype of the Northeast and Southern Conference formats, and he has been making important contributions to them ever since. Next, I would like to congratulate you at this evidence that you are concerned with all the issues and challenges that confront the foreign language teacher in our time. It is, in fact, against the context of these issues that I would like to address my remarks to you tonight, for I have been much occupied during the last decade with thoughts about the opportunities before the foreign language teacher: the NDEA Institutes, the FL programs of the Modern Language Association, the twelve years of the Northeast Conference, the two years of the Southern Conference, the Northwest Conference, new FL teaching methods, audio-lingual emphasis, pattern practice, the growth of language laboratories, the addition of visual dimensions, the insights of additional disciplines such as applied linguistics and psycholinguistics.

What I would like to try to do tonight, however, is to talk to you as teachers with the understanding that all of these movements, trends, issues, dimensions, supplements and aids will fail in their purpose if the teacher fails, and with the firm belief that always at the very center of the learning process what in the last analysis will really count is the magic that takes place between the teacher and the learner. What has happened to the teacher in all this, what has been given to her or to him, what encouraging signs are there that will help us resolve the paradoxes implied by the title, **"Foreign Language Teachers - Born or Made?"** I have divided my talk into four sections which I hope will be evident as I continue and will convey a certain logic of continuity: 1) one paradox deserves another; 2) quality or quantity; 3) the measurement of excellence; 4) the road ahead.

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[*] This chapter was the keynote address on Thursday, February 3, 1966.

With but a moment's reflection, one realizes that the points of view implicit in the concepts of a Born Teacher or a Made Teacher touch upon central issues that lie behind the history of our profession and really all our present concerns. Dear Miss Applebloom, teaching three or four grades to read in the McGuffey Readers in one room of the Little Red Schoolhouse, didn't have many degrees, probably not any, as a matter of fact. Her first qualification for her job was that she had been born, her second was that she wasn't married and her third was that she did not want to leave East Wagontree on the West Branch of Slaphappy Creek in the northern panhandle of Ohi-indinois (*that's a carefully disguised mythical state, by the way*). Her fourth qualification, but perhaps most important one, was that she "had a way with children." True, she was sometimes "firm" with them (firm, by the way, is a euphemism for giving them the old one-two on the back of the hands with the ruler), but she loved them, and they on the other hand sometimes made fun of her (made fun of her, that's a euphemism for calling her an old hag), but they loved her. And when years later they came back from Madison Avenue in their grey flannel suits, they always went to visit dear old Miss Applebloom to say that they owed it all to her and at the same time to show off a little. And so we have one more American stereotype fixed in the mind and when nowadays the children of the man in the grey flannel suit run into difficulties with **their** teacher or one of their teachers, for example, their foreign language teacher, their music teacher, their art teacher, their after-school activities teacher, one of their team teachers, their homeroom teacher, their shop teacher, their gym teacher, their guidance teacher, their remedial reading teacher, their Latin teacher, their speech teacher, their driver-training teacher, their home economics teacher, their parents can always say that good old Miss Applebloom could always take care of the situation. She was a born teacher. She knew a subjunctive when she saw it (notice I didn't say when she heard it); as for music, she could blow a pitch pipe as well as anyone else; as for art, she knew how to slap around the plasticine; as for after-school activities, she sent us home after school; as for homeroom, she kept the records by cutting another notch on her birch stick; as for home economics, home economics to her meant appointing one of the more trustworthy girls to stay after school and fill the inkwells; she was a born teacher and psycholinguistics to her would have been for the birds. There was no psycho in her classroom whose linguistics couldn't be corrected by his father out behind the woodshed. Obviously, she was a born teacher.

But literally and spiritually speaking, we come naked into the world. We are then born without knowledge, with very little physical coordination, with no apparent innate ability to think, with no sense of destiny and just as much without a profession as we are without clothes. I have never yet seen a baby whose first words were, "I am going to be a French teacher." And so to our rational minds, in a scientific and technological age where it seems that all behavior could be conditioned by exposure to proper stimuli, we gradually came to believe that knowledge was mostly a matter of proper and repetitive conditioning and that the practice of knowledge, or in our case the profession of teaching, was a question of exposure to words and experiences in a controlled chronological sequence of stimuli. In other words, the new teacher instead of being born was trained and guided. The assumption underlying this theory of knowledge was that exposure to a specified number of hours of talk on specified subjects would produce prescribed abilities. If you had 21 of these hours in a carefully regulated sequence you were better than if you had 18 hours, but 18 in most states was an adequate minimum and could be rewarded with a license to teach. This new teacher, this made teacher, had very little in common with our Miss Applebloom. She didn't have to be unmarried and needing a job. In fact, she could be married and following her husband from one military post to another, or she could be putting her husband through school until he could get the certificate she already had; she didn't even have to have a way with children as Miss Applebloom had. All she had to have was a certificate that said that she had taken so many hours of education courses and at least a minimum of subject matter courses. She was the product of the thought that teachers were made and not born. And let me say again, the making was analogous to that of another phenomenon of our technological age, photography. It is a matter of exposure. One sets the dials by the right numbers (courses in the college bulletins) and from then on it is a matter of exposure to proportioned amounts of sunlight or artificial light. But in any event the correct amount of outside stimuli upon a sensitive negative is supposed to produce an image that is recognizable. Note, however, the underlying quantitative principle, the notion that the right amounts of environmental influence proportioned off in the right amounts of the time dimension will produce upon a blackness, a blank, as it were, the desired structural image. And so we have the phenomenon of the made teacher, the teacher who is exposed for regulated amounts of time to regulated amounts of light under the assumption that the resultant product should be marketable. Note again that the controls for this process are numerical in nature and quantitative in their approach to successful results.

If we apply this process and this theory to our own profession, we may get a design something like the following, which most of you will certainly be able to recognize. A young physical education teacher, hot from the gridiron at East Wagontree Normal School, now by act of legislature and the persistence of its president known as Southeast State College **at** East Wagontree, has by accident or design "minored" in French. Closer scrutiny of the records would show that what this really means is that our friend was **exposed** to 18 hours of credit in French courses, or in other words, three year-courses, namely (and here one can throw caution to the winds and become really eloquent) French 1-2, French 3-4, and French 5-6. It would appear that our young man also has credit for an experience known as Supervised Practice Teaching. True, this experience turned out to be in history, but that was because the available spots in French were quite naturally taken up by the two girls in his class who "majored" in French, that is, who also had French 7-8, or who were exposed to 24 hours of French. Incidentally, French 7-8 was a small class that year. The enrollment was two. It was called Survey of French Literature, but it turned out to be Review Grammar. This was because there were only two in the class, both majors, preparing to teach, and everyone had agreed that nothing would be better than a good, thorough review of grammar. Of course this is exactly what they had done in French 3-4 and in French 5-6. Fortunately, however, for the two majors' future students, their teacher got mononucleosis in the spring semester so, as a solution, there was quite a lot of "outside reading" assigned.

Now we have gotten quite a way from our friend Mr. Gridiron, but that is because I have become so interested in the curriculum at the mythical Southeast State at East Wagontree that I can't help but follow through on these details. Well, to get back to Mr. Gridiron, Miss Applebloom's successor, the made teacher, we can be sure that somewhere in his files is a treasured copy of a letter of recommendation written about him by one of his teachers. It goes something like this: "To Whom It May Concern: My student, Mr. Gridiron, has asked that I write a letter of recommendation in support of his application for a teaching position. In my 83 years of teaching experience I have never had a student with a more attractive personality than Mr. Gridiron (incidentally, he made a fine end run in the State series game against West Overshoe.) True, in my French 5-6 class his mark was not outstanding and I think some explanation of the extenuating circumstances is in order. The D+ in French 5 is mostly attributable to the fact that Mr. Gridiron broke his leg during football season and missed five weeks of class. Previous to this time, I had excused him from the Language Laboratory, which conflicted with football practice. I feel certain that under other circumstances Mr. Gridiron would have done rather better, and I call attention to the fact that the C− in French 6 shows an upward trend. Mr. Gridiron is extremely well liked by both faculty and students, and I consider him a young man of promise." Signed: Garcilaso Litvak.

Now Mr. Litvak is also an interesting person. He trains foreign language teachers. He has a Spanish mother and a Polish father. He speaks French although with, shall we say, a slight accent, or rather let us say, as a native speaker would who had a Spanish mother and a Polish father and who got his Bachelor of Law degree at the University of Beirut after growing up in Saudi Arabia.

Enough of this. We have been discussing the biography of Mr. Gridiron. You will be glad to know that Mr. Gridiron is now a popular basketball coach and French teacher at East Wagontree H.S. and with a permanent certificate, no less. He occasionally takes late afternoon extension courses at Southeast State for their beneficial effect on pay increments and not infrequently stops in to visit Mr. Litvak, now 108 years old and enjoying an overage appointment.

Now I hope I shall not be misunderstood in my description of Miss Applebloom, Mr. Gridiron, Mr. Litvak or Southeast State at East Wagontree. They are wonderful people and places and I love them all. What I have meant to do is pick up the theme of measurement and identification and put it into a kind of focus whereby I can get on to an issue which I consider to be of some importance; that is, if my illustrations have had some kind of symbolic meaning in terms of fact, we may conclude that the paradox inherent in the notion that teachers are born (you either have it or you don't and there isn't much that can be done about it) has led us to the paradox inherent in the notion that teachers are made (and all you have to do is follow your noses through the right exposure until you have a certificate), and what we really need to know is how we go about the business of identifying the truly competent teacher, of licensing him or her with some confidence that what we really want to identify, that is, excellence and competence, has been accomplished.

This leads me, then, to the second part of my topic: How are teachers to be measured, and for what? The first problem is that of the **How.** Personally, I have the feeling that in the paradox described above of the "Teachers are Made" thesis, we committed a very simple but very dangerous mistake. What we have done essentially in our licensing procedures, it seems to me, is to fall into the fallacy of quantitative means of measurement while assuming or pretending that we were making a qualitative judgment. It is for this reason alone that I have allowed myself to become involved with the business of proficiency test development. It is because I believe that we must somehow learn the way to identify quality through direct control, and because I believe that we cannot identify it through quantitative measurement. In the greatness of the American Dream, and I do believe, in spite of human, historical, and actual mistakes, that it is a dream of greatness, we have often and characteristically confused quantity with quality or rather, to be more precise, we have used quantitative measurement as an index of qualitative excellence. To me the whole paradox inherent in the theory of the Made Teacher is not the mistake of the need for carefully regulated and clearly defined training; it is rather the mistake of thinking that the results of such training can be identified by quantitative rather than qualitative means. The **x** hours of courses in whatever disciplines, subject matter or professional, stand for experience through time. They do **not** stand for the quality of that experience, nor the results of that experience in terms of demonstrable competence at a given time. And so I come to the circumstances that have brought me here, my work in developing the instruments that will hope to measure quality in the discipline of foreign language teaching. One of the significant products of this effort has been the development of the Modern Language Association Foreign Language Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students, which have been adopted by several states to be used as a partial and supplementary indicator of qualification and as partial evidence of the right to teach in specific disciplines. All this has to do with the identification of teacher qualification in modern foreign languages or, more exactly, the means by which certain of the competencies necessary to the language teacher may be identified. Let us turn our attention, then, to a discussion of the mechanism and philosophy by which "quality control" or the identification of excellence in modern foreign language teacher selection can be assured. We are then approaching the problem of how teachers of modern foreign languages are to be measured and for what.

I think we may all take a certain pride in the fact that it is our discipline of modern foreign languages which was the first of the humanistic subject areas in our country to focus its attention on the identification and demonstration of **proficiency** as the critical area in teacher qualification. We have done this in the face of an unprecedented population explosion, and a consequent unprecedented demand for teachers who are in short supply. We have done this while goaded by the changed national climate of an increasingly popular demand for foreign language study which would normally tempt us to go all out for numbers regardless of consequences. Let us agree, then, that if the educational establishment in the past has confused quantity with quality in our certification and qualification procedures, **our** discipline, at least, has sought to face up to this problem by seeking the means to replace quantitative by qualitative measurement in regard to the identification of teaching competence. If we accept these premises, we can expect to move forward again in search of the means to identify competence as the outstanding quality of foreign language teachers. With these understandings before us, I should like to have the privilege of describing briefly the way in which the discipline of modern foreign languages has provided itself with the instruments to evaluate skill and content proficiency in five languages — French, Spanish, Italian, German, and Russian — and in seven areas of competence — listening comprehension, speaking, reading, writing, applied linguistics, culture-civilization, and professional preparation.

It is some eleven years now since the first marker was charted when, after two and a half years of fact finding, the Steering Committee of the MLA Foreign Language Program formulated its important "Statement of Qualifications for Secondary School Teachers of Modern Foreign Languages." This statement described three levels of proficiency—Minimal, Good, and Superior—for the seven areas of competence just mentioned.

The second marker was laid down a year later in February, 1956, at a conference of leaders in American education which was called together by the MLA. And here it is important to realize that the position taken by the MLA was endorsed by education leaders representing other specializations. Among the recommendations made at this conference are two statements pertinent to the subject at hand. 1) "Methods of certifying teachers should hereafter guarantee adequate preparation by including evidence of proficiency based on performance as well as credit hours." 2) "Standardized tests of proficiency should be developed as soon as possible to assist the institution and the employer in diagnosing a candidate's qualifications as a language teacher." It was already evident that no matter how strongly representative of a consensus of the profession the **Statement on Qualifications** might be, it would not be as effective as the situation demanded until nationally standardized objective tests could be developed that would implement the descriptions of the competencies. It is now a matter of historical record that the means for implementation were provided by the National Defense Education Act of 1958 with its emphasis on government support to mathematics, natural sciences, and foreign language education. Shortly afterward, in June, 1959, the third and most crucial of the markers was realized with the funding of the MLA Foreign Language Test Development Project.

A fourth event brings to a close this factual and historical account. It was the official completion of the original project with the submission to the Division of College and University Assistance, United States Office of Education, on 15 June 1962, of the 62-test battery in the five common languages covering the seven areas of competence for each language. So much for the historical record in brief, although for the sake of completeness it should be added that a third form of the tests in all but Italian, or 25 new tests, or 87 in all, are now developed as further enrichment of and improvement of the battery.

There are other things, however, that I think you should know about the tests as future collaborators in their use and, I hope, as supporters of their use and further development.

> a) The first point which I believe should be emphasized is the fact that they were developed by a group of some 200 scholars, teachers, and experts including some of the best known names in our country and in our field. It was, then, the cooperative efforts of distinguished leaders of our profession which insured the high quality we had set as a necessary feature of the tests, which provided the disciplined imagination that insured the pioneering nature of some of them, and which lent to them the academic respectability that helped make them acceptable to the profession. This professional attitude, which called upon the best efforts of a nationally representative cross-section of foreign language scholars and teachers at university, college, and secondary levels, was reinforced from the beginning by the close collaboration of Educational Testing Service, whose representatives in each language and area and whose test development and test analysis experts have added their resources to those of the professional language scholar and teacher. The point I am making is that the MLA Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students represent a high quality academic and professional approach to the problem of proficiency identification.

b) A second point to be stressed is the objectivity that has characterized both our attitude toward the tests during their construction period when each item was subjected to the rigor of careful item analysis, and our attitude toward subsequent uses of the tests. As evidence of this objectivity, I would like to recount the way in which the name of the test batteries changed during the course of test development. From the original concept of **Qualifications Tests for Secondary School Teachers of Foreign Languages,** there was a whole series of modifications to **Qualifications Tests for Teachers of Modern Foreign Languages** to the present title, **Foreign Language Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students.** In the first place, it became apparent that the word "qualifications" suggested impingement upon the rights of states and individual institutions to determine their own qualifications criteria, since it seemed to imply a tacit assumption that the MLA or the government was undertaking to "impose" qualifications standards. The proper view implicit in the present title is that the test batteries are sensitive instruments to measure proficiency as related to national norms, but the presumption of their application in the "qualifications" process has clearly been left to the agencies established for such purposes.

c) Another characteristic of importance is the reliabilitty of the tests. At the original conferences of the committees to set up the specifications of the tests, it was agreed to aim at individual test reliability of .80 and battery reliability of .90 in accordance with accepted testing procedures. It may be clearly stated that in each one of the 87 tests, the minimum requirements for reliability have been appreciably exceeded and responsible officers of Educational Testing Service have stated that these MLA test batteries are among the most valid and reliable test batteries with which ETS has ever been associated. Where human scorers are concerned, as in the speaking and writing tests, one of the critical problems is scorer reliability, since no tests can ever be more reliable in effective use than the scoring processes applied to them. In this context we can report that, on the basis of scorer reliability checks for the writing tests, we have achieved a figure of .996, which is about as good as can be obtained with machine scoring. Careful controls have also been instituted which have demonstrated that with properly trained teams of scorers for the speech production tests, satisfyingly high scorer reliability has been obtained in this sensitive area. The substance, then, of this paragraph is to assure you, without going into a lengthy and

> probably boring statistical account, that the tests and the scoring of them exceeded by safe margins rigorous standards of reliability. In summation of this section, I will underline with confidence the fact that we have demonstrated that reliable tests can be built in the seven areas and for the five languages as described, that these tests can be reliably scored, and that we have therefore given to the foreign language profession the means to measure seven basic competencies which the profession itself had previously described as essential to the foreign language teacher.

This challenge, then, is before you, for you can resolve, at least in part, the paradoxes of the Teacher as Born or Made by adopting the principle that you will go as far as possible along the road of measurement for competence as relevant to the licensing procedure and that you will not be satisfied only with a linear measurement which equates quantity of study with mastery of subject matter.

And now as I look at the road ahead, at the decade ahead, I venture to make the following predictions. Although I by no means think that we have solved all problems of the measurement of teachers and the identification of their qualifications to teach, I do see a pattern emerging in relaion to which the MLA tests will be useful. It is a definite swing toward certification on the basis of qualitative, that is, proficiency, evaluation, toward the demonstration of control of the skills and knowledge involved, in place of the present emphasis on the accumulation of course credits. But now, lest I be accused of being test-happy, do let me explain myself a bit further. Let me say that in my role as a teacher I have no intention of abrogating my teaching responsibility to an IBM machine. Let me say that I fully recognize the fact, and am first to proclaim it, that I do not think that tests alone are able to measure the "mystique" of what makes a great teacher, those intangibles of personality, of relating to others, of the catalytic imagination, of the quality to inspire and call forth the magic response of creativity. Our modest thought in this regard is that the Proficiency Tests will help us to identify the manpower pool from which the great teachers are most likely to come. And I will say that when it comes time for me to evaluate my students' work and to write Litvak-like recommendations for them, I will be happier to know that in addition to the purple prose in my letters of recommendation, a future employer of my students will be able to take into account objective measures of my students' competence. I will be happier to know that Mr. Gridiron will have to demonstrate something besides 18 hours of French, snappy end runs and a pleasing personality before he gets into a classroom as a teacher of French.

But I would never want to mistake the instruments for the objectives for which we strive. And I assume by the fact that we are here together that we are all equally interested in a search for excellence in the teaching and learning of foreign languages, classical and modern. And that we are interested in them, not so much as ends in themselves but because they open doors to wisdom and widen the horizons of knowledge about man and the cosmos. To this point I have been suggesting that Miss Applebloom at one point evolved into Mr. Gridiron, but that there were built-in paradoxes that prevented these people from becoming the model teacners of foreign languages for our time. I have suggested that in the development of the notion of reliable tests that will measure proficiency in terms of the ability to demonstrate it, rather than to measure it by counting credits and hours, we have made a giant step forward.

What, then, is the kind of teacher of foreign languages who will lead us into the next decade? It would be the subject of another talk to outline all my thoughts on this issue. In closing, just let me sketch for you what I think she may be like, Miss Applebloom of 1975. She or he will be a near-native speaker of the foreign language she is teaching, having gained a good part of this mastery through study abroad in the country whose language and culture she is teaching; she will be a serious, open-minded student of language who will understand that language is the symbolic manifestation of man's experience, his principal means of recording that experience and the means by which he communicates that experience to others; she will have had a part of her training in intensive language and teacher training programs such as the summer NDEA foreign language institutes, either as a staff member or as a participant. She or, of course, he, will be acquainted with the contributions of such groups as the Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages and the Foreign Language Program of the Modern Language Association and the Southern Conference on Language Teaching. She, or he, will be active in state, regional and national professional organizations; she will understand the principles of applied linguistics; she will be concerned with the anthropological approach to culture; and she will get scores of Superior on the MLA Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students. But most of all, she will consider the learning and the teaching of foreign languages, ancient and modern, to be a dignified and distinguished profession that will deserve her lifelong devotion and study because she will view it as one of the roads to wisdom. I know that some of you will wish to protest this is too much, that you will wish to say that in this large area of the Southeast there are a discouraging number of programs which only offer two years of a foreign language, that too many teachers are burdened with too little training and of the type I have described as quantitatively measured. But even so, in honesty, I can do no less than hold the challenging picture of the new teacher before you. And I must say that in **my** 83 years of teaching experience, I **have** come to a point of genuine encouragement.

As I close, then, permit me to quote from a greater book than our language texts a passage which I think conveys some of the optimism that I feel as we stand together on the threshold of the future. The lines are from Romans 13:

> The night is far spent, the day is at hand; let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armor of light. And that, knowing the time, that now **it is** high time to awake out of sleep: for now is our salvation nearer than we believed.

I give you, then, Miss Appleblossom and Mr. FL Teacher of 1975 (I have given them new names.) Are they born, or are they made? Well, obviously, they are born, and obviously they must also be made, but then they must be identified; there must be a sort of professional laying on of hands — someone must say, "You are the one, and you and you." And then, when all this is done, comes the real test. For then one must be given to the classroom to teach one's heart out, to teach until the planet is filled, to teach to the edge of the moon, to teach out to the planets, the stars, and to the ends of space. For here is the true secret, and here we return to the real mystery; it is in the teaching and the learning thereof.

Are Linguistics Important ?

James Bostain

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I guess I should begin by telling you what the Foreign Service Institute is, for those who aren't familiar with it. It's a school in the Department of State. It's called an Institute because it has two parts, and each of these parts is called a school; and you'll recognize immediately that to have a **school** plus a **school** add up to a **school** would be bureaucratic ineptitude of the first order. So it's an Institute.

The names of the two schools are: the School of Language and Area Studies, of which I am a staff member, and . . . the other school . . . I think the current name of the other school is the School of Foreign Affairs. They don't teach their students to **have** foreign affairs, of course, simply to understand them when they happen.

Our job in the School of Language and Area Studies is to equip our students to speak whatever language they need when they get wherever they are going. If they need French, we'll teach them French; if they need Cambodian, we'll teach them Cambodian. If we don't have a text, we'll write one. In fact, we write most of our texts anyway, because the texts you can get commercially are not usually very good for teaching people to speak foreign languages; and besides, they are intended for a different kind of set-up. As you know, there are lots of other things in those text books besides speech. Sometimes you get a text book that is called "French" on the outside, and inside it's France. Rome is not Latin, you know; but these things get mixed up in many text books.

Moreover, we have a different kind of teaching program. We get our students six hours a day, five days a week, and we have perfect control over them. We even pay them salaries. We have students who are motivated like crazy because their jobs are at stake. Beginning to drool a little bit? We are very fortunate that our situation is different. People try sometimes to use our text books in college classes or secondary classes where you have students one hour a day, three days a week or five days a week, and our text books, you know — well, you have one hour a day, five days a week. In one week you'll have gone through less than we get through in one day. So our text books don't always work out in high schools and colleges. It would take you about five years to get through our text book. We get through it in sixteen weeks, but then we have a lot more time at our disposal than you do; so we need special text books and that's why we write our own.

Everybody in the State Department has a job sheet. This is a piece of paper with your name, your title, and some numbers up at the top, followed by a lengthy description of what you might do if you didn't spend your days the way you do. The title at the top of my job sheet is "Scientific Linguist." I think that's terribly impressive, but I always have to stop a minute to make sure it is "Scientific Linguist," because there was a time when they thought of changing it from "Scientific Linguist" to "Linguistic Scientist." That was in 1957, right after the Russians had sent up their first satellite. There was an idea that this country needed more scientists in a hurry so they were going to change our title to "Linguistic Scientist" and close the gap at once. I just thought you'd like to know how quickly your government can respond to a challenge. But the plan fell through, because there was at the same time an idea that scientists of any sort would get bonuses. So you see a fiscally responsible government has to respond flexibly to multiple challenges, and we remain "Scientific Linguists" to the present day. But I don't ordinarily call myself either a "Scientific Linguist" or a "Linguistic Scientist." I usually call myself a "linguist." It is unfortunate that people in my racket should refer to ourselves this way because we mean something special by the term. It's bad linguistic practice on our part to take an ordinary term like "linguist" and give it a special meaning, but you see terms like "linguistician" and "linguistologist" have been brought forward — and sent back — so we go on calling ourselves "linguists" and adding to the gaiety of the nations. Now what most people mean when they say "linguist" is a man who speaks X number of languages, what we'd call a "polyglot." You've heard people say things like "Oh, Joe's quite a linguist, speaks German, Russian and Dutch." And then there's the guy who wanders in and says, "I speak saventeen langviches, Anglish de bast." This is the usual meaning of the term "linguist."

But we don't mean this, we mean a person who has been trained to make objectively true statements about the linguistic behavior of any group of people he undertakes to study. If he can do this, then in our view of things it's a matter of complete indifference whether he ever gets any of that behavior in his own nervous system or not — that is, whether he learns to **perform** in the language that he is describing. Well, after all, you don't expect a botanist to **become** a flower. It isn't necessary to identify with the phenomena, merely to describe them accurately. So let me distinguish between two kinds of "linguists": the **linguistic scientist**, who tries to make true statements about linguistic behavior, and the **linguistic artist**, a skilled performer in two or more linguistic systems.

Now, most linguistic scientists are to some extent linguistic artists. You are bound to pick up a little bit of a language while you are describing it; you might pick up a whole lot. Most linguistic artists, on the other hand, are not linguistic scientists. Most linguistic artists are people who are confused about **two** languages. Anybody who has survived the educational system in this country or any country where the European grammatical tradition has been extended is sure to be confused about one language, namely his own. The European grammatical tradition, you see, is founded squarely on the assumption that **language has nothing to do with people.** Start there and you can begin to understand what goes on in English classes in this country — and in many foreign language classes.

Languages are pure, but people are corrupt. People mis-use and abuse languages. So never mind what people do when they talk or write; that's merely "usage."

Sometimes I am challenged at this point: "Oh, you're one of those guys who thinks that usage makes correctness." My reply is, "No, not quite. I'm really one of those guys who thinks that usage is language." Because that's all there is — usage. We make noises and we make marks. The noises and the marks **are** the language. Anything else is either a general statement about the noises and the marks, or else it's a fantasy statement about what the noises and the marks might be if they weren't what they are. Most English and foreign language texts are collections of fantasy statements. The students are stuffed with notions about how English or French or Russian **ought** to be spoken. The students don't learn French, they learn **pure** (i.e., imaginary) French.

One of my jobs in the Foreign Service Institute — in fact, now exclusively my job — is to give lectures, sometimes on anthropological subjects, cross-cultural communications, etc.; but very often I speak to students who are about to start in our language courses. They come to us to study Vietnamese, and heaven knows what they expect: to learn the Vietnamese soul, to learn to slant their eyelids a little bit, to learn some trick writing system — well, not that, because the Vietnamese use our alphabet (it's usually called the Roman alphabet, but I call it ours, because we've got it now). The students look awfully upset when we tell them what we really want them to do is to learn to **do** Vietnamese. Learning a foreign language is closer to learning to dance than to studying history. We language teachers actually have more in common with a basketball coach than with the history professor or the math professor, because what we are teaching is behavior. We are teaching people to make noises at a rapid speed, and they have got to be the right kind of noises, they have to come out spontaneously because, while you can take all the time you want to write a sentence, if you are in a conversation and you say, "Now just let me look that up in the back of my book," the other guy is walking off down the street. Time is an important factor in speech. The desired forms have to be on tap, not filed away somewhere.

Last year I made a TV series which I called "English: - Fact and Fancy," a title I devised in five minutes one afternoon (because it alliterated). I really wanted to call the series "What Are the English Language?" but I was told I couldn't use that title because "it didn't conform to the dignity of educational television." My response was that the real enemy of intellectual advancement is solemnity, but the power lay on the other side, so the series is called "English: - Fact and Fancy." (One program, however, is called "What Are the English Language?")

The title of this talk is "Are Linguistics Important?" Now for me, **linguistics** is a singular noun like **politics** and if I were to talk about it I would say "Linguistics **is** a science." But I want to make the point that there are various kinds of linguistics. And I want to make the point that there are lots of ways to speak English. There is the way I talk, and the way each of you talks, there is the way each of us writes . . . there are lots of Englishes around the world, and none of them is exclusively English at the expense of all the others. I want to introduce a **pluralistic** view of English, and a pluralistic view of linguistics, too. Right now there is a great theological struggle going on in linguistics between the Bloomfieldians and the Transformationalists and the battle is being fought out in the cathedrals (of learning), but the battle really doesn't interest me too much. I'm concerned with the practical application of a very few **fundamental** assumptions of linguistics, and I think it would be very good if we were to leave aside all this theory and stop talking about allomorphic alternation or terminal strings or other such phantasmagoria, and ask ourselves what linguistics can contribute to clear up some of the confusions that have been put into language study by the European grammatical tradition which says that language has nothing to do with people. What can linguistics do to benefit work-a-day language teachers like us? Well, I think the basic contribution linguistics can make is to remind us that the study of languages should be data-oriented instead of theology-oriented. I mean right here in this country, probably within a few miles of this very building, some teacher right now is lying to American pupils about the nature of language, sitting there saying that **can** expresses ability and **may** expresses permission. Any six-year-old knows this is nonsense.

We use **can** to express either permission or ability; the second clause (or the situation) tells you which. If I say "You can do that if you want to," that's permission. And if I say "You can do that if you're big enough," that's ability.

May, on the other hand, in most of its occurrences expresses probability, not permission. We use **may** to signal a middle range of probability, intermediate between **must** (high probability) and **might** (low probability). So we have a series of probability indicators: "He must be there" (I'm sure he is), "He may be there" (I don't know), and "He might be there" (I doubt it). In questions, to be sure, **may** means permission, "May I have another cookie?" "May I help you?" You can use **may** in statements, too, for example: "You may take one giant step." But except in frozen formulas like that, **may** doesn't occur very often in my speech to signal permission. In questions it does mean permission, but only rarely in statements. Why don't the teachers tell the kids this is the way things go? The kids can then go out and listen to each other.

Do you know that if a kid loses his text book he can't pass most grammar tests? There is no way to find out about the "shall-will" rule, for example, except in the text book. That's the only place it exists. You couldn't look at any of our behavior and find out about that "shall-will" rule. If you check it out, you discover that that rule is a piece of fantasy dreamed up in 1674 by a guy named John Wallis. He made it up. He looked around and said: "Oh dear, dear, here we are in 17th century England, very civilized place you know, and we seem to have **shall** and we seem to have **will** and they seem to mean the same thing. That's not very efficient, you know. We don't have very many auxiliaries in the language. We ought to get more mileage out of the ones we've got. So why don't we sort them out?" And he did sort them out, with that zig-zag in there so that he and his friends could be one up on everybody else. But as far as anybody has ever been able to determine, that rule has never—before, during, or since Wallis's time—represented an accurate statement of what any sizeable group of English speakers really **does.** The only people whose behavior actually conforms to that rule are people who have modified their behavior to accommodate the rule. You can always recognize them, incidentally, because their eyes roll up just before the auxiliary comes along.

My job at the Foreign Service Institute of brainwashing, shall we say, new students so they go along with our management and take hold in the Institute's kind of work, has forced me to talk not to linguists but to non-linguists. I have to talk to people who have never heard of linguistics and I have to make basic principles of linguistics clear to them. This has forced me to dig down into the basic assumptions of linguistics and I think the difference is that linguistics is data-oriented, whereas the Western European grammatical tradition is fantasy-oriented, (like the "shall-will" rule). If I had to put out a definition of language, I would probably say that language is one kind of organized noise. You make noises when you talk and they are very thoroughly organized, right down to the . . uh . . hesitation sounds. (I just made an "uh"; that's my hesitation noise.) But there are lots of people who don't have that hesitation noise. I have a Yugoslavian friend at the Institute who has never said "uh," **never.** I have never heard him say "uh" yet, either in Serbo-Croatian or in English. He has two hesitation noises when he speaks English. One of his hesitation noises is "You see" and the other is "You know." So he says things like: "I was walking down the (you see) street, when I came to the (you know) corner, and there was this (you see) pretty girl on the (you know) corner. And I was about to (you know) speak to her when I saw that she was my (you see) wife."

I'd like to talk about three little confusions that the European grammatical tradition has put into us that you can get rid of, if you use linguistics to help you get rid of them. Keep in mind we are always talking about organized noises, and that the organization of these noises is the grammar of the language. Now in all the languages our public schools are interested in, there are also sets of organized marks, writing systems, and all that has to be said at the moment is, the writing systems **ain't the noises.** You need two sets of statements, one for a language's writing system and one for its noises.

The first confusion I would like to talk about very briefly is **the confusion between language and non-language.** For example, people very often talk about logic and they imagine they're talking about language. That's why the teacher says a double negative means positive. Or they get cultural patterns mixed up with language. Very often, they'll start talking about English verbs and the first thing you know they have slid over into **time** and they talk about past, present, and future. They talk about time as if it were a part of our language instead of a part of our view of the universe. English verbs don't have past, present, and future. We can **mark** a verb for past if we want to. You can say **went** instead of **go** to signal past time — though it's important to remember that **went** doesn't always mean "past." How about this sentence: "If I went there, would I like it?" That's future. How about this one: "It's time you went to bed." That's present.

What's the tense of this sentence? "He eats oatmeal for breakfast." That's not yesterday, that's not today, that's not tomorrow, that's **always.** English verbs are basically **timeless.** Time is important in our **culture** and it shows up in our sentences. It doesn't always show up in the verbs, though. People get cultural patterns like time mixed up with language. They start talking about time and think they're talking about language. This is all based on the assumption that language mirrors reality perfectly, so if you're describing reality you must be describing language. They get "thought patterns" mixed up with language.

One of the things that terrifies students who are going to study French or Spanish is the subjunctive. They get a crawly feeling in the belly. What is the French subjunctive? It is only another form of the present. There are two present tenses in French. The subjunctive doesn't **mean** anything in French. It doesn't mean anything different from the indicative because there is virtually no contrast. There is only one pattern in all of French where you can get a contrast. Dan Desberg and I sat down together one afternoon and thought and thought and thought and thought, and finally came up with a pattern like "Dites-lui qu'il le fasse mieux. / Dites-lui qu'il le fait mieux." You've got a contrast there, **fasse** contrasting with **fait**: "Tell him he should do it better. / Tell him that he's doing it better." And that was the **only** pattern in all French that he could find where the subjunctive and the indicative contrasted. Otherwise you say, "Il faut que je m'en aille," but "Il est certain que je m'en vais." After one introductory clause, you use the subjunctive; after another, you use the indicative. But there is no difference in meaning corresponding to the difference in form. It's like trying to differentiate the meaning of **am** and **is**. All you can say is, "Use **am** after **I** and **is** after **he**." The subjunctive and indicative in French are like **am** and **is** in English. You can tell students this. Why not un-spook the subjunctive? It would benefit the students. But some teachers would rather find something "profound" in their subject. They want to talk about "thought." Or sometimes they try to talk about one language in terms of another language. They use Latin, for example, to describe all languages. Poor old Latin has been grossly overvalued through the centuries! After all, Latin is only the local dialect of an Italian tribe that made good. It's not one whit better than any other language nor is it one whit worse than any other language. What has been written in Latin may be more valuable (to us) than what has been written in Swahili, but **the language itself** is neither better nor worse than any other language. That last statement needs to be qualified to this extent: Latin is probably the best language in the world for talking about Roman military formations. But it's not very useful for discussions of Vietnamese kinship.

Latin is **a** language on a par with other languages. If you want to describe Latin you describe Latin. If you describe Latin you have not described any other language besides Latin. But during medieval times, Latin was the language of the intellectuals, because it was the language of the Christian church. Naïve people have jumped to the assumption that it was the Latin those people were using that made them intellectuals. Nobody thinks they were using clever **pens** or learned **ink**, or smart **parchment**; but it is a widely held superstition that —somehow—**language code** conferred intellectual skill on them. One of the programs in my television series is "English and Latin." I show how English and Latin are distantly related languages. I characterize Latin as a "generous uncle" to English and I go on to say that the study of Latin is **intrinsically** worthwhile: if you want to learn Latin, there's no better way to do so than to study Latin. But it's **extrinsically** not very valuable: if you want to learn something else, there's no better way to learn something else than to study something else. Latin won't help you to think more clearly; every Roman moron spoke Latin. It won't clear up your skin or help you to ride a bicycle. What the study of Latin will do is **teach you Latin**. It will throw light on English, but then so will the study of Russian or any foreign language. The study of Vietnamese will throw even more light than either Latin or Russian. It's a very different language. My program on Latin is a half-hour program, and the first time it went on, twenty-five minutes after it was on the air the Latin Department at George Washington University was on the phone demanding equal time.

Sometimes people get non-linguistic things like social prejudices mixed up with the study of language. We all know the difference between "I saw him" and "I seen him." The difference is the pronunciation of **seen** and **saw**, and in the secondary message that "I seen him" carries along with it, namely, "I am uncouth."

The only thing wrong with "I seen him" is that there is a very general and widespread prejudice against "I seen him" on the part of many strategically placed people in our society. The real difference between **isn't** and **ain't** is that the **isn't**-people run the schools. But that's enough to justify teaching the kids to say "isn't." You don't have to make them stop saying "ain't." You just have to equip them to say "isn't."

People get all kinds of non-linguistic things like truth, like aesthetics, like euphonics, like morality, like Lord knows what, mixed up with their notions of language. Sometimes they teach Rome in a course called Latin, or France in a course called French. You learn all about French wines. That's fine, but I think you ought not to call the course French; call it French Wines.

What I'm saying is that every language is a cluster of habits; that what you want to do is put the habits into the student's nervous system; and that the conventions of those habits are not the same as the conventions of logic, the conventions of truth, the conventions of anything else.

Besides, every language is shot through with illogical constructions. We say things like **two cats**. How do you propose to defend the **-s** on the end of **cats**? You say it marks plurality. I say we've established that with the **two**. We don't need the **-s**. We do need it with **my cats** because **my** doesn't indicate singular or plural in English. So until you're willing to say **my cat, my cats, one cat, two cat,** let us have a moratorium on the discussion of logic in language because you've lost the argument already. A man who will say **two cats** hasn't got a logical leg to stand on. And what do we put in front of **two cats? Those.** That's three plurals already, and we haven't even gotten to the verb yet! And the verb is **are**, and that's four plurals. And the predicate is **nice ones** and that's five plurals in six words. And somebody says "What are you, some fanatic? You won't let me use two negatives, but I've got to use five plurals."

Speaking and writing: that's another kind of confusion. Speaking and writing are two different systems. They don't match up, not in English, not anywhere else that I know of. I characterize them as **brothers**, not as **twins**. There is a relationship, a resemblance, between the marks we make and the noises we make, but the resemblance is not really very close. You can't get at the noises by going through the marks, not in English, not anywhere. And some of the most important noises are not written at all! The whole intonational system is simply left unwritten in English, and all kinds of features are left unwritten in various languages.

Speaking and writing are learned differently. You learn to talk your own language before you're six years old, without any instruction at all. You get **correction** but you don't get any intellectual **instruction.** We've all learned as English speakers to put a puff of breath after the initial **t** in a word like **tone** but no puff of breath after the **st** in **stone.** We put a puff of breath after **t** in English if it comes initially in a syllable, but not if it's preceded by **s.** Who ever **told** you to do that? Nobody. Nobody ever says to an American kid, "All right, put a puff of breath after that **t**!" But notice that they do give you this kind of instruction: Cross the **t**, dot the **i**, get the loop of the **a** down, get the loop of the **o** up. They give you a lot of technical instruction about writing, but none about talking. The consequence is that we all learn to talk about writing, but nobody learns to talk about talking. Hardly any child of thirty in our society can make three consecutive true statements about the way he talks — which is kind of sad when you're trying to teach people to talk. We all went to the wrong sixth grade. You can put elementary phonetics in the sixth grade, even earlier perhaps. You can teach a kid it takes two lips to say, **pa, ba, ma,** tongue tip on gum ridge above the upper teeth for **ta, da, na,** etc. If the student can understand a concept as intricate as "capital letter," he can understand "velar spirant." "Capital letter" is a far more complex notion than "velar spirant" is.

Moreover, the **units** of talking are different from the units of writing. The unit in talking is a phrase, so if you say anything like "Put it in the corner" you've got two lumps in talking: the first is "Puttit" and the second is "inthecorner." But in writing, you've got five lumps: "Put/it/in/the/corner." But/if/you/talk/this/way/all/the/time/you/are/either/a/foreigner/or/a/pedant. A pedant has been defined as a man who insists on giving you more information than is necessary or desirable. And/if/you/talk/this/way/to/another/English/speaker/you/are/giving/him/more/phonetic/information/than/is/necessary/or/desirable. And/if/you/persist/he/will/stick/his/fingers/in/your/eyes.

What happens in real life is that people put words into phrases and smear them together. I call this process "streamlining," and it goes on in all languages that I know of except one. The one language that never seems to get streamlined is, of course, Esperanto. Esperanto is one of the few truly primitive languages in the world. I was on a radio program the other night and the guy who was on before me, being interviewed, was a psychologist or a psychiatrist. He was talking about Esperanto, and he read a sentence in Esperanto that went approximately like this: "Nay/demandu/quia/via/landu/povray/fahray/por/via."[1] You've heard the expression "the written tongue"? It's such a compact little bundle of confusion, that phrase! Speaking and writing all twisted up into a (GNURR) of misinformation! Well, I'd like to suggest that what that Esperanto man was producing might be characterized as "the spoken finger."

He also said that Esperanto had no dialects! Of course, he himself used nothing but English allophones throughout. If either of this morning's previous speakers[2] got up here and said the same sentence, it wouldn't sound the same. In fact, everybody who speaks Esperanto speaks it with a foreign accent.

He also said that there is no **q** in Esperanto because that's "a hard sound." It isn't a **sound** at all. It's a **letter**, and as long as you have people talking about **q** as if it's a sound, then you're in trouble.

Before I leave the problem of speech and writing, let me share this with you. This turned up in Ripley's **Believe It or Not** some time ago. He has a little picture of a writing system here and calls it "the perfect language." He doesn't know any better; he thinks that's what a language is. He says, "Devanagari, used in India, is the most perfect alphabet in the world." Now, this isn't a factual statement, it's a value judgment, and it means, "I think highly of Devanagari." It does contain the construction **most perfect** which some people quibble at. (Strangely enough, the people who object to **most perfect** seldom get upset about **quieter** or **rounder**.) Anyway, he goes on to say about Devanagari,

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[1] —"Do not ask what your country can do for you."

[2] —Professors Juan Estarellas and Pierre Delattre

"Its fifty-two letters and eighteen letter-combinations include every sound human lips can produce." Now, that **is** a factual statement; it's either true or false — and it's grossly false. Here's a sound that no Devanagari letter is able to write.[3] He goes on to add, "A word spelled in Devanagari cannot be mispronounced." I would like to introduce him to Jim Stone on our staff who teaches Hindi (which is written with the Devanagari writing system) and Jim Stone will assure him that any seven-year-old kid who has learned English can mispronounce Hindi, and his parents can do it twenty times as well and twenty times as persistently.

So here we have a writing system called a language, followed by a value judgment containing a grammatical solecism, followed by two factual statements both of which are false. How many millions of living rooms does a thing like this go into on a Sunday morning? You couldn't put that much foolishness about rockets in the paper; every ten-year-old kid in the country would climb your frame. And to add to all this confusion, the writing system pictured here is not even Devanagari! It's a related writing system called Bengali.

And you have to add to that the topper that the Bengali writing system which is pictured here is **upside down**. Believe it or not! At least he gives you the option.

I have about three minutes left for my third kind of confusion. I've talked about the confusion of language and non-language, of speaking and writing. The third kind of confusion that is really important to language teaching is the confusion between **the intellectual comprehension** of a grammatical point and **the ability to do the thing muscularly**. We are in the habit-formation business, you and I. We're teaching people to **do** a language, and this means habit-formation. We're not trying to turn out balletomanes; we're turning out ballerinas. We're not after musicologists, we want pianists. We're not trying to find somebody who knows what goes on under the hood, we want people who can drive. If you can find out what goes on under the hood, that doesn't hurt your driving necessarily; but it doesn't help your driving either. It's another subject. So teaching people to talk **about** a language is not the same thing as teaching people to speak a a language. Now, if you want to teach them to talk **about** a language and you don't care whether they speak it or not, okay, fine. All I'm trying to do is point out that you can't do one and expect to get the other as a bonus. You've got to decide which one you want to do, or if you want to do both and allot time to each of the studies. When I was studying German at Oberlin, we had a German lady there who had spent thirty years in Mexico—and she was still called "the German lady" when she left to come to Oberlin. She was a very lovely lady and she was telling us one day how to say **ach** in German. She said "It's very easy to say **ach.** You have only to imagine zat you're valking down ze street und here is a little girl sitting on ze sidevalk und she iss crying, because she has a doll und ze doll's head is broken und from ze doll's head is ze sawdust running oudt, und you look at ze little girl mit ze broken doll und ze tears in her face, und you feel such Mitleid, such sympathy, vat can you say but — **ach!**"

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[3] Here the speaker let out an excellent Bronx cheer.—Ed.

It never occurred to that lady to teach us to try to say something like "knock it off." You can use that **ach** sound as a substitute for **k** between vowels in English: kno**ch**-it-iff, loo**ch**-out, ba**ch**-up, t**ach**-it-over — no **k** in any of those. But, of course, for her it wasn't kno**ch**-it-off. It was **knockk-itt-offf**, and I think she felt it really ought to be **k-nockk-itt-offf.**

You can teach a kid studying German to say **knoch-it-off** when you say **"c-h"** and **knock it off** when you say **"c-k."** Find where the target sound occurs in English, teach him to be aware of that, how to do it, and he's got a reference point.

I once knew a lady who talked about the French **u** sound. I told her, "I'm going to tell you for five minutes how to do this and you aren't going to be able to do it, and then I'm going to show you in thirty seconds how to do it." So I went through the whole pizazz: in English, when the tongue goes back the lips go out — something she spent her whole life learning to do. Every time her lips go out her tongue goes back, so if she wants to say a French **u,** she has a hard time; her lips go out, her tongue goes back and she says **ooo.** We spent five minutes going through this, so finally I said to her, "Now I'm going to show you how to do it. What I want you to do is to pout like crazy and say 'Poor little me'." Finally I got her to do what I wanted her to do which was to say "Pu-r little mee, mee, mee." There it was! When she pouted, she got her lips rounded and her tongue in the front position.

If you can find devices like this, if you can locate in the already established behavior of the students the sound you want, you can teach him to become aware of it and he can always come back to it. He's got a reference point. But if you give him some theoretical pizazz out of a linguistics textbook — high front tongue-tip lip rounding — don't bother, you're just interrupting a learning process.

So, finally, to the question, Are Linguistics Important? Yes, certain aspects of linguistics are very important. You don't have to get into high, theoretical reaches of linguistics. There's a great deal of information that linguists are digging up. Some of it is way off in the blue somewhere. But some of it's very practical indeed. And linguistics is no more important to a language teacher, I would say, than medicine is to a doctor—and no less important.

Language Learning and Linguistic Interference

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Among the many definitions of the term "language," the one that applies best to teaching languages is perhaps: a set of linguistic habits. In learning a second language one must acquire a **new** set of linguistic habits. We are used to thinking first of articulatory habits, but there are others of equal importance, such as grammatical habits — often separated into morphologic habits and syntactic habits — semantic habits, orthographic habits, phonemic habits, phonetic habits, prosodic habits, and so on. There are also habits of a purely psychological nature, such as the habit of sound-sense association — the ability to speak a language fluently seems to depend on one's ability to associate meaning directly with sound and not with any visual symbolization of sound such as spelling.

The sort of interference we are concerned with here comes from such habits. When learning a second language, all the linguistic habits of an adult's first (native) language interfere; they stand in the way of the new habits that must be acquired. The advantage a child has over an adult is, of course, due to his having not yet acquired deeply rooted language habits. Successful language teaching depends, therefore, on the instructor's being aware of the interferences the students are subjected to by their native habits. The purpose of this paper is to increase and clarify this awareness.

To every kind of habit there corresponds a kind of interference. We can speak, therefore, of syntactic interference, morphologic interference, semantic interference, orthographic interference, phonemic interference, phonetic interference, and so on. Let us take concrete examples.

Syntactic interference is related to word order and the arrangement of semantic units in a sentence. When an American student of

Spanish, who wants to indicate that he has been here for three days says, **He estado aquí por tres días,** instead of **Hace tres días que estoy aquí,** it is because of syntactic interference; he transfers to Spanish the syntactic form and word order of his native English. Under the same influence, a student of German might say **Ich bin gewesen hier für drei Tagen,** instead of **Ich bin seit drei Tagen hier;** and a student of French, **J'ai été mangé pour deux heures,** instead of **Je mange depuis deux heures,** or **J'en ai trop beaucoup** for **J'en ai beaucoup trop.** One of the most hilarious lines in **L'anglais tel qu'on le parle** is **Voici le gris chapeau de mon père,** spoken by Betty, a young English girl. The fact that the simple displacement of the adjective of color, **gris,** to the slot it would occupy in English — before the noun — cannot pass unnoticed, gives ample proof of the importance of syntactic interference.

Morphologic interference is related to roots, endings, particles, affixes, or any other minimal unit of speech which carries grammatical or referential meaning. The student of French who says **Je suis content qu'il viendra** for **Je suis content qu'il vienne,** or **Attendez pour moi** instead of **Attendez-moi,** is a victim of morphologic interference. So is the student of Spanish who says **Espera para mí** for **Espérame,** or the student of German who says **Warte für mich** instead of **Warte auf mich.**

Semantic interference occurs mostly through literal translations which do not find a correspondence with the same meaning in the second language. A dictionary of such confusions is entitled "Les faux amis." The student of German who said **Was für ein schöner Mist** did not mean to use the word for "manure" but to remark poetically about the mist over the valley. After a good long meal at the French House, an American student will often be heard to say **Je suis pleine** for **Je suis rassasiée** or, if the room is cold, **Je suis froide** for **J'ai froid.** And a student of Spanish who means to apologize will say **Estoy embarazada,** which refers to the same notion as **Je suis pleine!**

Interference is said to be phonemic when one phoneme is pronounced so much like another one of the same language that the meaning which is understood by a native of the second language is not the one desired by the learner of that second language. Thus, the confusion between [u] and [y] in French often occurs. English articulatory habits are such that if the lips are rounded, the tongue wants to be backed. For this reason, an English student of French who wants to ask **You are sure?** will say **Vous êtes sourd?** (You are deaf?) instead of **Vous êtes sûr?** Once a speaker of Southern German exclaimed in French **Il pleut des chats!** (It is raining cats!) when he meant **Il pleut déjà** (It is raining already).

Orthographic interference is related to the reflex one has at the sight of a printed symbol. Upon seeing the letter **r**, an American student feels his tongue irrestibly pulling back-and-up towards the palate to produce the r-color which is so characteristic of Mid-Western American English, and the foreign sound he is trying to produce suffers sadly, whether it be the German pharyngeal glide which requires lowering the tongue tip, or the Spanish alveolar flap which requires fronting of the whole tongue. Similarly, at the sight of an **n** or **m** letter, the velum (soft palate) of an American falls a good half-syllable ahead of schedule, and the vowel in course acquires a marked nasal quality which changes Jeanne into [ʒãn].

Finally, phonetic interference is what prevents a student from speaking a second language with a good accent even though he uses all the correct phonemes. Unlike phonemic interference, it does not change the meaning, but it can make whole sentences unintelligible. This fact is well illustrated in the story of the American diplomat who was telling a French lady sitting next to him at a banquet how extensively he had traveled. "J'ai été un ãn à Rome, un ãn à Genève, un ãn à Madrid, et un ãn à Berlin." The French lady became so irritated by his poor pronunciation of the word **an**, which should have been [ã], and not [ãn], that she interrupted him to say: "En somme, vous avez été un âne partout (so you have been an ass everywhere)." Note that she had understood his utterance perfectly well. She only pretended that she had not in order to ridicule his poor accent. That is why this interference must be called phonetic, not phonemic.

Phonetic interference involves all sorts of articulatory or prosodic features: nasalization (as in this story), diphthongization, palatalization, aspiration, anticipation, affrication, vowel reduction, retroflexion, fronting, backing, lengthening, shortening, laxness, tenseness, intonation, stress, rhythm, juncture, syllabication, and so on. In our research laboratory, thanks to NDEA funds, we use electronic devices to analyze all those features and many more. We can isolate, by means of spectrographic devices, as many as forty phonetic differences between English and Spanish, English and German, or English and French. We even synthesize those differences on artificial-speech machines. But rather than listing forty differences now, let us examine one in detail, that of diphthongization. A moving picture will furnish a concrete illustration.

To help language teachers realize the diphthongal habits of their American students, we made a film comparing the lips of American, French, German, and Spanish subjects, articulating the vowels /e, o, i, u/ in phonetically similar sentences. Vowels to be compared are in similar stress position and are preceded by the same class of consonants. Here is a list of the sentences pronounced in the film.

English vs French

The day before pay wasn't gay.
Céder à l' épée n'est pas gai.

They can tow where they go for the bow.
Ces bateaux sont égaux et sont beaux.

McKee has a bee in his tea.
Chez qui sont partis ses habits?

It will do to say "boo" when they coo.
M. Ledoux est dans la boue jusqu'au cou.

English vs German

In vain they work every day.
Für wen gibt es keinen Tee?

The boat sailed down the Po.
Das Boot schwimmt auf dem Po.

It's deep to his knee.
Ein Dieb war er nie.

They found at noon the shoe.
Er findet nun den Schuh.

English vs Spanish

It's a day still to face.
¡ Qué le dé dos cafés!

It's low pay to cope with.
Don Lope de la Copa.

At least it's a key.
La lista está aquí.

The soup is for two.
Lo supe cuando tú.

The term diphthongization is used to indicate that the color of a vowel changes while it is being produced. Since no vowel is absolutely free of change, it would be safe to specify that vowels are said to be diphthongized when the modification of vowel-color is quite noticeable, and they are said to be pure when the modification is not very noticeable. Note that we are not talking about true diphthongs, such as /aj, aw, oj/ in **file, foul, foil.** The vowels /ej, ow, ij, uw/ of **raid, road, reed, rude** are only considered "diphthongized vowels." Naturally, changes of vowel color that are noticeable by ear should reflect articulatory motions or changes of position that are noticeable by eye. It is in order to permit one to observe such motion on the lips of American subjects, and lack of such motion on the lips of French, German, or Spanish subjects, that our films were made.

Let us now describe what can be observed on the film to explain the interference of dipthongization in American students.

1. The articulatory motion of the American subject is amazingly extensive. In the word, **tow**, for instance, the lips open sharply to a wide [b] position, considerably overshooting the [o] target in the degree of opening, then close very gradually, taking about four times as long for the closing as for the opening, overshooting the [o] target in degree of closure and going all the way to a lip position of [u] or [w]. By contrast, for the vowels of **beaux** in French, **Boot** in German, and **Lope** in Spanish, the lips move directly to the [o] position with its required opening (small in German and French, less small in Spanish) and remain there without any very noticeable change for several frames.

2. The onset of the vowels with the American subject is strong and sudden, whereas its ending is weak and gradual. This is shown first in the rapid opening motion of the start and the slow closing motion of the end, secondly in the high amplitude of the sound waves near the beginning of the diphthong and in their low amplitude near the end of it. The intensity decreases continuously after the high beginning. Most of the energy seems to be spent in the first quarter of the diphthong. At the end, the sound fades out very gradually.

In the other three languages, the onset of the vowel is gradual and somewhat weak, and the initial amplitude is maintained throughout. The rate of energy is about the same at the end as it is at the beginning, and the vowel ends in a sharp reduction of sound which reflects a sudden contraction in the larynx.

3. In our three foreign languages, the lips show a high degree of vowel anticipation while the consonant is being articulated. For instance, the lips of the French subject are in position for /o/ almost during the whole time the tongue tip touches the alveolar ridge for /t/. In English, on the contrary, the lips move toward the /o/ position well after the consonant closure has occurred. We say that vowel anticipation is weak.

4. While the extensive motion of the American subject occurs, remarkable laxness can be observed in facial expression. Laxness is often debated as a factor of diphthongization because of the difficulty encountered in measuring it objectively. But on this film, thanks to the efficiency of motion photography, laxness is so clearly visible around the lips that its existence leaves no doubt whatsoever. By contrast, the facial expression of the French, the German, or the Spanish subjects show a high degree of muscular tenseness.

In conclusion, it can be said that the application of the term "diphthongized" to the American vowels of **raid, road, reed, rude,** is well founded. In motion pictures of the lips, those vowels show extensive articulatory motion, strong and sudden onset, lack of anticipation, and muscular laxness. The application of the term "pure" to the corresponding vowels of French, German, and Spanish is also surprisingly well justified. These foreign vowels show no noticeable lip motion, a weak and gradual onset, a high degree of anticipation, and striking muscular tenseness in the facial expression around the lips. When learning French, German, or Spanish, therefore, an American meets, in his habits of vowel diphthongization, the obstacle of phonetic interference. An instructor who is aware of this will be able to help the student to overcome this obstacle by teaching him economy of articulatory motion, gradual vowel onset, vowel anticipation, and muscular tenseness.[1]

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[1] —The research reported herein was partly performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Applications of Psycholinguistic Theory to Foreign Language Teaching

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Some time ago, when I was an instructor at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, I taught a course entitled "Language, Thought, and Communication" in which there was a student who had some problems with a course in English composition. He told me that unless he wrote a very good paper he would fail the course and as a consequence not be able to graduate. I suggested that he write a paper on a work about which there was a controversy concerning which of two writers was the author. In it he could compare the works of the two authors with the work in question, using the type-token ratio[1] in order to present evidence concerning the true authorship. (The type-token ratio is a statistical approach to language and can be used to measure different aspects of language, such as style, book readability, passage difficulty, verbal diversification, and so forth.)

The student wrote such a good paper that he received an "A" and was asked to read it before a scholarly society of the college. The departments of English, foreign languages, as well as other departments, were somewhat shocked at the very thought that statistics could be used to evaluate composition. They asked me to give a talk about that mysterious psycholinguistics which I was teaching and about which the faculty was puzzled. That was in 1956 at which time there was not a single course in any American university entitled "Psycholinguistics," although many universities offered courses related to this field. As a matter of fact, I think I am correct in saying that I taught the first course ever given the title "Psycholinguistics." This course was offered in 1958 at the Language Institute of the University of Hartford.

The term psycholinguistics, however, had already appeared much earlier. For instance, the **Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology**[2] entitled a whole issue "Psycholinguistics," which was a report of the proceedings of the Summer Seminar on Psycholinguistics, held at

Indiana University in 1953. This seminar was, in part, a continuation of a program of study being developed by the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Linguistics and Psychology. This council had already sponsored another seminar at Cornell in 1951.

Since those days the term psycholinguistics has become more and more known. It has become established as a field and a discipline in many colleges and universities, and various works have been published on the subject. However, it is as difficult today to define psycholinguistics as it was when George Miller[3] tried in 1954. It is as difficult to define the discipline as to define its limits or boundaries. In 1954 psycholinguistics was the newborn child of two rather mature behavioral sciences, with no clear scope or direction of its growth. Today the child has almost grown to manhood. There have been a great many research activities, as well as publications, which have given a wealth of knowledge to psycholinguistics, yet the problem is that as more research is done and more works are published, the field becomes more and more complex. Many different branches of science have been used and are being used to study language, branches of philosophy, philology, psychology, anthropology, physics, communication engineering, and neurology, just to name a few. Psycholinguistics was first an attempt to relate all these different approaches into a single coherent picture of language — a general science of language. However, with all the research and recent publications it seems to have moved into the very complex science of communication. One must remember that the term language, used in different contexts, may refer to communication, e.g., the language of humans, the language of the bees, the language of the computers.

It would be impossible even to begin to give a survey in this paper of the research on psycholinguistics. Saporta's book[4] of readings on psycholinguistics is divided into topical sections under which the areas and directions of theoretical and experimental research in this field are delimited. According to Professor Diebold, these topical sections represent subfields which may be implicitly recognized as constituting the subject matter of psycholinguistics."[5] They are as follows: 1) The nature and function of language; 2) approaches to the study of language; 3) speech perception; 4) the sequential organization of linguistic events; 5) the semantic aspects of linguistic events; 6) language acquisition, bilingualism, and language change; 7) pathologies of linguistic behavior; and finally, 8) linguistic relativity and the relation of linguistic processes to perception and cognition. These very general topics just give a synopsis of its scope, because from psychology of learning to the new mathematical psychology, from abnormal communication to cybernetics, everything which relates to the broad concept of communication, seems to fall within the realm of interest of psycholinguistics.

The name psycholinguistics is, of course, a combination of the two major disciplines which form this new field. However, psycholinguistics is different from either linguistics or psychology. Many years ago the late Ferdinand de Saussure[6] made a distinction between **langue** (a language system) and **parole** (the manifestation of this system in the speech of particular individuals). This distinction suggests that in a given language one can say certain things only in certain ways; thus the speech of an individual is subject to the structure of his system. Anthropologists and linguists have been mainly interested in the language system **(langue)** and have paid very little attention to the individual, since, in any study of a language one deals with social facts and social rules, which, as Cassirer said, are "quite independent of the individual speaker."[7]

Psycholinguistics makes a distinction similar to that of de Saussure's, although with different objectives and therefore different results. Psycholinguistics differentiates between a language as a system external to the user, and languages as states of the user. Linguistics is primarily concerned with the process of the **system**, and psycholinguistics in the **individual** process of the system. That is, psycholinguistics is concerned with the system as it affects the individual.

The different approaches to this process of language behavior and their relation may be seen in the summer seminar on psycholinguistics held at Indiana University in 1953. There the linguists, communication theorists, and psychologists who participated in the seminar, examined and attempted to relate: 1) the psychologists' concept of language as a system of habits relating signs to behavior, 2) the linguistic concept of language as a structure of systematically interrelated units and, 3) the information theorist concept of language as a means of transmitting information.[8] It has been with these related approaches to the language process that psycholinguistics, through experimental and theoretical research, has developed today a basic body of knowledge about language and its different aspects.

In general, however, there has been a lack of practical application of this psycholinguistic theory to foreign language teaching. There has been in foreign languages, of course, theoretical and experimental research which will fall into the areas of interest of psycholinguistics, but little or nothing has been applied to practical teaching. Today the foreign language teaching field is still beset by many different philosophies or false beliefs. There are many different methods, such as the direct method, the grammar - translation method, the audio - lingual method, the linguistic method, and so forth. While people may discuss their different advantages, the real difference among these methods is, as Professor Carroll points out, just a matter of emphasis on certain teaching procedures.[9] This point is supported by the psycholinguistic experiment of George A. C. Scherer and Michael Wertheimer of the University of Colorado, who compared the audio-lingual method with the grammar-reading method in teaching German. After their long experiment was over they concluded that while the two methods showed occasional differences in various aspects of German, the overall proficiency gained by the students in both methods was very much the same.[10]

In a broad sense, one may say that in foreign language teaching there are many opinions but very little conclusive experimental data. Once, somebody discussing the differences among learning theories said that learning theorists reminded him of a group of blind people, each holding different parts of an elephant and each trying to describe the whole elephant. The same can be said about foreign language teaching.

There are still supposed experts who believe that one learns a second language very much the same way as a child learns his native language. Yet there is tremendous psychological evidence to the contrary. Foreign language teachers are told that language is primarily a system of sounds, therefore they have to teach the sounds before teaching reading and writing. However, this approach is just one linguistic philosophy based on a school of linguistics whose research was mainly on Indian languages without writing systems. Students around the country are taught dialogs before they even fully understand the meaning and sequence of sounds which results in endless frustration and poor mastery of the language.[11]

Many other examples could be brought up to point out that although in the last few years the teaching of foreign languages has changed to meet new needs and has improved in technological aids, in applications from linguistics and psychology in general, it is still confused and based on assumptions rather than on experimental research, and one wonders to what extent there has been any improvement in teaching foreign languages in the last decade. In this short paper there is not enough time to try to discuss the pros and cons of the different assumptions, but perhaps what I have to say next will give insight into how wrong these assumptions are and how important it is to bring psycholinguistic methodology into foreign language teaching rather than some linguistic philosophies or misunderstood psychological theories.

In any organismic communication situation there are different behaviors to take into consideration: the intentive and encoding behaviors of the transmitter, the message or code, and the decoding and interpretive behavior of the receiver. In the intentive behavior the transmitter has something he wants to transmit, in the encoding behavior the transmitter chooses from his potential operant behavior (behavior which has been reinforced) the particular response he wants to make to a particular stimulus. Sometimes the choice might be one of two languages, if he is bilingual; sometimes a choice of verbal units, or writing instead of speaking. The message or code is the individual manifestation of the encoding behavior. When this is overt behavior it might be a succession of sounds or a series of signs on a piece of paper. Whatever it is, it is either audible, visible, or tactile. The decoding behavior of the receiver is the perception of the message and the series of discriminatory responses he makes to the elements of the message. This discriminatory response is also based on the operant behavior of the receiver. An interesting aspect of the decoding behavior is that the discriminatory responses which the receiver makes are to the units of the message. These responses are greatly helped by the context of the message. Thus he pays a great deal of attention to the units of the message. The interpretive behavior is the behavior subsequent to decoding the message.[13]

The linguist is interested in the message as part of a system, the psychologist in the different behaviors of the transmitter and receiver, and the communication theorist in the transmission of the message. The linguist analyzes the language system, and describes the different units of a language, i.e., phonemes, morphemes and syntactic structures, and how they interrelate. The messages are derived from the system. The communication theorist is interested in how accurately the messages can be transmitted. This involves the measurement of the efficiency of any communication channel, which entails measuring the amount of information carried by a message or by the units which form the message. The word "information" is used here in a special sense. Information is based on choice, the amount of information of any unit in a message is the range of possible alternatives that may occur.

For instance, the letter **q** in English does not have any information because only the letter **u** can follow. Information leads to another communication theory concept called redundancy. Redundancy is simply when more symbols are used to encode a message than are theoretically necessary. All languages are redundant since the grammatical rules of language are a source for redundancy. For instance, the definite determiner **la** in Spanish or French is more redundant and has less information than the English **the**, since in Spanish or French it indicates that the noun following has to be feminine and singular, whereas in English it can be of any gender or number. Redundancy is very important to reduce the effects of noise, by which is meant any possibility of error in the message. The more redundancy there is in a message the less amount of information and the fewer possibilities for noise.[13]

The psychologist is interested in the structural units of language as behavioral units, in the acquisition of these linguistic responses, in the strength of these respones, in the differences of language behavior, and the organization of language behavior. All this leads to what Professor Miller has called the verbal context. Verbal context is related to the interdependence of verbal units, and to the extent that a verbal unit is determined by other verbal units. In brief, it is all the communicative acts which surround any specific verbal unit,[14] or as Skinner would say, the special conditioning by which verbal environment has shaped any unit of verbal behavior or verbal operant.[15]

Semiotics, the science of signs, used for communication purposes, may also help to explain how these theories apply to foreign language teaching. In any foreign language the average student is faced with different kinds of semiotic systems, with different linguistic, psychological, and communication processes. According to Morris, the developer of this theory, semiotics has certain specific rules which control communication with signs. Without these rules communication would be impossible. The controlling rules are: 1) the relation of signs to other signs (linguistics), 2) relation of signs to designata (semantics), 3) relation of signs to their users (pragmatics).[16]

If Morris' theory is applied to language, one finds that language has different levels of signs. For instance, in the spoken language there are phonemic, morphemic, and syntactic structures. The three rules of semiotics form in each level the verbal context which a student has to learn. This is because the verbal context of each sign is really the complex meaning of the sign, whether phoneme, morpheme, or syntactic structure. A similar point has already been made in linguistics by Fries' structural meaning,[17] although he dealt only with the meaning of verbal units as they relate to each other. In learning a foreign language at the syntactic level, students begin moving to a higher level immediately and they are not made aware enough of the redundancy on the lower levels. The result is that every unit has a great amount of information, hence there is no accurate verbal context and the possibilities for misunderstanding and incorrect learning are very great. The outcome is usually poor encoding and decoding behaviors.

In the written language the student has similar levels and similar problems. In the written language there are letters, affixes, words, and sentences. However, in many cases, reading and writing are not taught simultaneously with the spoken language, because there is the assumption that there will be interference of native relationships. This is very true when talking about higher levels, for instance, words. A good example of this is the research of D. Muller on the effects of the written word on pronunciation.[18] Another example is the poor results of teaching reading to American children by the "look and say" method.[19]

These poor results occurred because there were two different levels of language involved, and the interference was due more to the conflicts of the different levels than to the different codes. If the levels related are the same, and the student begins with the first levels, phonemics and graphemics, the approach is in accordance with psycholinguistic theory and more helpful to the student. When two related sets of signs—sound and letter—are transmitted simultaneously, taking into consideration the different linguistic problems and relationships particular to each language system, they carry greater redundancy than when each one is transmitted independently. Furthermore, the association of the two signs will be strengthened each time either one is missing or masked from a stimulus and the interpretive response of the decoder reinforced. As this association and its reinforcement is increasingly expanded to the sequence of signs and designata, it will proportionately decrease the amount of information of any unit and render the verbal context of that unit.

From the first moment a student enters the classroom or the language laboratory to learn a foreign language, any sound, any letter, any verbal structure, has an infinite number of possibilities of occurring, therefore the amount of information that any verbal unit carries for his decoding behavior is infinite. The student's capacity for imitation is minimal, since, as Professor Miller has pointed out, "if a listener is completely unprepared for the sequence of speech sounds that he hears, his ability to mimic the sound is greatly reduced."[30] Therefore, the objective of the teacher or teaching materials should be to give the student a great deal of redundancy for each verbal unit in a series of sequential steps starting from the graphemic-phonemic level, in order to reduce for the student the amount of information of each verbal unit. This redundancy strengthened by reinforcement (operant conditioning), should try to give the student a verbal context very close to what native speakers of the target language have for that verbal unit. Until students are acquainted with the verbal context of each level of signs they should not be allowed to move to the next level. This basic verbal context will become the operant behavior which will help the student to discriminate, and better imitate sequences of sounds and eventually to move quickly to higher levels, (i.e., morphemic, and syntactic). Further training along the same concepts in morphemic and syntactic structures will expand his verbal context at these levels to an operant behavior, nearly approximating that of a native speaker. This means that in listening-speaking skills this approach will also reduce the student's latency in the intentive-encoding behaviors or decoding-interpretive behaviors.

Some of our departmental experiments at Florida Atlantic University may serve to illustrate the application of these psycholinguistic theories to foreign language teaching. While we had applied these theories in teaching for several years with excellent results at the Language Institute of the University of Hartford,[31] and for the past two years at Florida Atlantic University, we did not have any results or comparisons with high school students. For this reason we decided to start an experiment with our materials at Nova High School, Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

It has been explained before that one of the assumptions of some linguists is to teach sounds first and reading and writing later. Many people have even understood this to mean to teach sounds from the syntactic level. How misleading this assumption is may be seen from our psycholinguistic experiment at Nova. For the experiment, some students from that school were selected at random from a level 1 Spanish class and subjected to intensive training in discrimination and pronunciation of sounds and their written equivalents. The control group began the Audio-Lingual Materials in the conventional manner with a teacher and no written materials. The material for the experimental group was a linear programmed self-instructional text coordinated with tape recordings and included instruction-levels on vowels, consonants, linking, stress, intonation, and syllabication. Phonemic-graphemic relationships were taught by first presenting in a series of frames the relationship between sounds and letters (this introduced redundancy), then in the following frames students had to discriminate between a group of graphemes in listening to a sound. Next the students moved into other frames with minimal pairs, each missing a grapheme and they had to fill in the missing grapheme while listening to the pronunciation of the words. Later, in other frames, the students moved from one missing grapheme to several and then to entire words. In this way the student was made aware of the amount of information of each unit through its verbal context. In all the material the student was taught to make a relationship between the sound-signs and written-signs and always had to make an overt response, either written or oral, to the stimulus of the tape which was strengthened by reinforcement.

When the students of the experimental group reached the terminal behavior of the programmed text they moved into the A-LM Materials which they were given to study. In a short time they had overtaken the control group in dialog mastery, as proved by the A-LM achievement tests administered to both groups, and they were also superior in writing, reading, speaking, and comprehension. Soon they moved out in front of the control group in rate of learning and material mastered. At the same time their pronunciation was better than that of the control group. These results are due to the applications of the theories just mentioned. In beginning with this approach, students at Florida Atlantic University, on a self-instructional basis, can do in one trimester the work that would normally take close to two trimesters with the conventional approach.

The same theories are applied to teach the higher levels of language. Morphemics and syntactic structures are taught in many different ways around the country as dialogs, pattern substitution drills, analogy, transformation, and so forth. Linguistics has been used to choose the verbal units, and linguistic contrastive analysis to warn the teacher about the pitfalls of structure interference between the native language and the target language. But again, whether in programmed instruction or other methods, there has been very little application of psycholinguistic theory. These psycholinguistic theories were also used to develop an audio-video self-instructional course in Spanish. Since it would take many pages to explain the whole course, only a few examples will be explained here. At the beginning of the course, after teaching gender and number of nouns, what is a noun phrase and a sentence, the program moves into the determiners. (Students entering this course already have taken the program on pronunciation and writing just explained above.) The determiners are all grouped together (articles, demonstrative and possessive adjectives) and are taught in the following way. After a panel explaining the determiner **este**, for example, and its morphological variations, the student is given a series of frames with a noun referring to a picture (this picture has a hand with a finger pointing to an object) and the student has to choose the appropriate determiner to form a noun phrase with the noun. (This introduced redundancy at this level). Next he moves to other frames where there are the same type of picture and noun but no determiner. The student again has to form a noun phrase with the appropriate determiner which fits in the verbal context of the frame (the noun and the picture are redundant enough to make the student emit only the specific determiner to complete the message.) Finally, in the following frames he has the same type of picture, although with different objects he already knows; with no written noun or determiner, thus the verbal context in the frame is expanded and the student has to produce the whole noun phrase describing the picture upon receiving an aural stimulus. (The picture and the aural-stimulus are so redundant as to have reduced his choice to emit only a specific noun phrase to complete the message.)

After a group of determiners are taught in this way with his responses always being reinforced, the student moves to other problems with question frames consisting of questions made up of noun phrases only. He has to answer these questions according to the pictures providing the appropriate noun phrase which describes the picture. In these frames he works on selection and transformation of verbal units in relation to experience, to test and reinforce the verbal context of those units. For instance, to a frame saying "That man?" with a picture of a hand pointing to and touching a dog, he has to answer, "No, this dog." In this way the course develops to more complex structures and situations in which the student has controlled conversations with the TV and he is presented written stories with pictures to which he has to give overt responses. The programmed materials are based on the linear technique with frames to which stimulus the student has to give written and oral responses. For this type of material we developed a dial-selection audio-video language laboratory, which, I believe, is the first of its kind in the world.[22] However, since the pictures which appear on TV are also found in the textbook, the materials can be used with a more conventional language laboratory without television.

The aim of the program is to teach morphemic and syntactic structures by building the student's operant verbal contexts through a sequence of different and interrelated verbal and non-verbal situations. This is accomplished through redundancy maintained in strength by reinforcement. By making the student select, manipulate, and transform verbal units from the simple to the complex, in relation to experiences, we also achieve the purpose of relating his learning to the very process of language. Concepts of transformational grammar are used to develop materials. In the presentation and progression of items we try to base our approach on research done in the field of mathematical psychology. The purpose of this is to provide the student with an optimum number of verbal units he can recognize, retain, and produce at a given stimulus. Since the student is not using any of his native language structures, and has to respond to visual stimulus associated to a verbal stimulus of the target language, the problem of structure interference of his native language is at a minimum. Furthermore, his latency in the intentive - encoding or decoding - interpreting behaviors is very close to that of a native. The amount of information of any verbal unit has also been decreased to a point very close to that of a native.

At present the terminal behavior is developed from what is considered standard items and structures of an average first year college course. We intend to expand the course to two years and apply the same theories to develop programs in other languages. We do not have any fiscal comparative or validation data available although the results we have on student reactions, rate of learning, and so forth, are excellent. However, we have results for an experiment we conducted on similar principles at the Language Institute of the University of Hartford in 1964. There 60 students in a first year Spanish course taught by this approach were given the MLA Cooperative Foreign Language Test, Form LA, at the end of the course (this test was used as a control for the experiment) and in all skills of proficiency the students achieved higher scores than the norms of the control test for first year college Spanish.

These are only a few examples of applications of psycholinguistic theory. It would take another paper, or even a book, just to mention the possibilities I see in psycholinguistics for language teaching. Psycholinguistics has just begun to open a new door for foreign language teachers. We need a great deal of practical research and more applications to teaching, and above all, we need teachers trained along the new lines. Our world is changing, our concepts are changing, our students are changing, thus our teaching methods have to change, not by opiniens, but by the same laws of science which have governed the changes of our environment.

1. For further details on the type-token ratio see G. A. Miller, **Language and Communication**, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951), 122ff.
2. See **Supplement to The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology**, 49, 4, Part 4 (October 1954) passim.
3. See G. Miller, "Psycholinguistics" **Handbook of Social Psychology**, 2 vols., ed., G. Lindzey, (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954) II, 693-708.
4. See S. Saporta, ed., **Psycholinguistics**, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961)
5. See A. R. Diebold, Jr., "A Survey of Psycholinguistic Research, 1954-1964," **Psycholinguistics: A Survey of Theory and Research Problems**, eds., C. E. Osgood and T. A. Sebeok, (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1965), 208.
6. See F. de Saussure, **Cours de Linguistique Générale**, 3rd Edition, (Paris: Payot, 1964) especially chap. III.
7. E. Cassirer, **An Essay on Man** (New York: Doubleday Anchor Book, 1954) 158.
8. See **The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology**, 49, 4, Part 4, (October, 1954) 8ff.
9. See J. B. Carroll, "Research on Teaching Foreign Languages," **Handbook of Research on Teaching**, ed., N. L. Gage, (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), 1062.
10. See G. A. C. Scherer and M. Wertheimer, **A Psycholinguistic Experiment in Foreign-Language Teaching**, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964) especially p. 245.
11. For an interesting discussion on some of the wrong assumptions of foreign language teaching see W. M. Rivers, **The Psychologist and the Foreign Language Teacher** (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964)) passim.
12. For further details see J. B. Carroll, **The Study of Language**, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), 88-92.
13. See C. Cherry, **On Human Communication**, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957) 115ff and 226ff.
14. **Language and Communication**, 81 ff.
15. See B. F. Skinner, **Verbal Behavior**, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1957) chap. 8.
16. C. Morris, **Foundations of the Theory of Signs**, International Encyclopedia of Unified Science, Vol. I, No. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), 6.
17. C. C. Fries, **The Structure of English; an Introduction to the Construction of English Sentences**, (New York: Harcourt and Brace, 1952), 56.
18. D. Muller, "The Effect Upon Pronunciation and Intonation of Early Exposure to the Written Word," **The Modern Language Journal**, XLIX, 7, (November, 1965) 411-413.
19. For an interesting evaluation of methods of teaching reading see R. Brown, **Words and Things**, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958) 66 ff.
20. **Language and Communication**, p. 79.
21. I discussed the theories behind these experiments as they relate to programmed instruction in a paper entitled "Some Concepts of Modern Communication Theory as They Apply to Programming an F.L. Course," at the Second NSPI Convention, San Antonio, Texas, April 1964.
22. See J. Estarellas and T. Regan, "Tomorrow's Language Lab Today," **The Florida F. L. Reporter**, 4, 2, (Winter 1965-66), 3-4.

Use and Misuse of Structural Drills

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Some of you may remember reading in the **French Review**, about a year ago, an interesting article by Lillian Adams entitled "Audio-lingual? Yes, but let's think." Miss Adams opens her remarks with the following sample of an audio-lingual class taught in Thailand by a Peace Corps volunteer:

T: This is a chair
S: This is a chair

T: Mango
S: This is a mango

T: Table
S: This is a table

T: That
S: This is a that

T: No, think please
S: This is a think please

We all have experienced the frightful moment when an innocent pattern drill suddenly turns into an apprentice sorcerer's nightmare. The meaningful automatic response which we so eagerly try to develop with our students has suddenly turned into a meaningless conditioned reflex. Somewhere along the way, the conscious mind of our students has drifted away from their linguistic activity and language has become a caricature of itself, worthy of a play by Ionesco. The accusations of parrotism, of language without thought, which have been made against the audio-lingual method by many of its critics, are unfortunately too often justified to be ignored. I have observed too many classes both in secondary school and at the University not to be convinced that the proliferation of audio-lingual materials on the market and their wide adoption by school districts or colleges is no guarantee of sound language teaching in the classroom. We all know how easily structural drills degenerate into a chant, lulling to sleep even the most zealous of our students. We also know how deceitful structural drills can be, how they can give a perfect illusion of good linguistic performance and yet, when meaning is checked, reveal a total emptiness of content. My purpose today is not, however, to call for revolt against the audio-lingual method. Neither the soundness of its principles nor the quality of its results need any longer to be proven. What I wish to do is to re-examine with you, on a very practical level, what structural drills are, what they can accomplish and what they can't, and how we can use them with best chances of success. Since the structure of a language includes not only its grammatical features but also its phonological features, I should specify that, because of limitation in time, I shall discuss structural drills only at the grammatical level.

We all know that structural drills have replaced the formal study of grammar **rules**, that, in the audio-lingual method, grammar is taught inductively, in context, and that the generalization leading to the formulation of the rule takes place after students have begun to learn to use it. We also know that, in order to avoid constant trial and error, structural drills guide the student, during his learning period, through carefully planned steps so that he may concentrate his efforts on the mastery of one new grammar point at a time and never feel lost in a linguistic chaos. It is obvious then that the progression from one drill to another should be well controlled.

The manner by which a student is introduced to a new structure, and his clear understanding of what we expect him to do, are also of utmost importance. Let's pause here for a moment. We want to teach grammar in context. But a structural drill is not in itself a very meaningful context because the sentences which compose it are chosen for their similarity or opposition of structure and not for their sequential meaning. It is therefore important always to keep in mind that structural drills are a bridge. They lead from an imaginary situation in which the students participate through memorization of a dialogue or of a narrative to a real situation in which the students express themselves freely. Structural drills should therefore stem directly from a dialogue previously memorized. Ideally, the dialogue should be so constructed as to yield an ample quantity of model sentences for structural drills. The memorization of dialogue would then be much more justified since it would provide the students with reusable material. As it is, in most of our present textbooks a large proportion of the dialogue goes to waste because it can't be separated from its specific and artificial context. The point I want to stress here is the close relationship which exists between dialogue and structural drills. Structural drills cannot be effective if they start from a vacuum. An intelligently memorized dialogue closely associated with meaning will insure that the sample-sentences used for structural drills will also carry meaning.

Let's now consider the grammar we want to teach. I feel there has been a serious misunderstanding on this subject and that the root of so many failures may well lie right there. We have gone from one extreme to another, from discussion of grammar rules with no language taught to language with no grammar. I am fully aware that one can learn a language without actually analyzing its grammatical structure. Children do. It may be that structural drills would not be needed, if we had enough time for repetition and infinite rearrangement of sentences in real context. But we do not have enough time. Structural drills are a short cut, a time saver which will help develop the automatisms required for fluency. They do this through repetitions, true, but not without the cooperation of the conscious mind. The very heart of structural drills is a systematic manipulation of grammar. How can we ask our students to manipulate something they do not understand? I see no sin in focusing their attention, not on a formulated rule but on a mechanism in action. I will even say that I see no salvation without a clear consciousness on the part of our students of what they are doing when making the substitutions or transformations of a structural drill.

This consciousness is particularly important during the first steps of initiation to and practice of a new structure. And this is where we often fail. We present grammar in action through what is generally called repetition drills. Samples of the new form or the new structure to be mastered are given to the students in sentences which they are asked to repeat after the teacher. The essential goal of this drill, however, is not so much repetition as it is a mental alertness to variations in structure. If we fail to make this clear, this thinking exercise will become an echo drill, too easy and boring. Our students will go into the next drill poorly equipped to do it and we will soon share the disenchantment of our young Peace Corps volunteer.

I may be in disagreement here with some of the Instructor's Manuals, but I have good reasons to believe that much better results can be obtained if, right after the repetition drill, we ask our students to tell us what they have observed in the sentences just heard and repeated. They must understand what they are going to practice and must know on which part of the sentences to focus their attention. The few minutes of class needed for this will be wisely spent.

Another very common cause of failure, and a widely heard criticism of the audio-lingual method, is monotony and boredom. First, let me say that boredom is not the exclusive property of any one method and that bored students are to be found everywhere. Second, isn't it wise to admit that the learning process, especially when skills must be developed, requires long and at times tedious effort? French or Spanish without tears is more a commercial slogan than a reality. This does not mean, however, that structural drills are a painful, but necessary, experience which we must inflict on our students for guaranteed good results. Neither monotony nor boredom are necessary. Structural drills can be fun, if they are well conducted, if they constantly present to the student sufficient challenge to stimulate his interest, if they remain within the limits of his capability, if they are varied enough, and most of all if they are never disconnected from normal, spontaneous expression.

The drills reproduced at the end of this article give a sample of various types of structural drills and show that there is no need for the monotony of the one and only simple substitution drill used in some textbooks. I would like now to comment briefly on a few of these drills. (I aplogize for the examples in French only. I do not know Spanish or German well enough to venture into pattern drill making in these languages.)

For the sake of convenience, we can classify structural drills into seven categories according to the basic mechanism involved. They are: Repetition, Substitution, Transformation, Expansion, Combination, Controlled Dialogue, Completion. I have already discussed the importance of Repetition drills. Substitution drills are probably the most familiar to you. They are based on the linguistic concept of slots. A sentence is considered to be a frame composed of a certain number of segments, each one situated in a slot whose position within the frame is fixed. Each slot can receive but a certain class of segments. By substituting one segment for another within the same slot, the general structure of the sentence remains the same but its semantic content changes. This is what we do in Simple Substitution Drills. Such drills are of a limited use; nevertheless, their role is essential. It allows the student to practice a certain structure, while learning to recognize the class of words which can enter one particular slot. Besides, it is only by substitution that the students can learn how to distinguish the limits of words. This is especially useful in French where the spoken chain unfolds with almost perfect syllabic equality and makes it difficult for a novice to separate words.

Simple substitution drills being extremely easy, they should be performed at a rapid pace and be of a very limited duration. Monotony is a real danger here and monotony generates distraction. Simple substitution should be preparatory to a more difficult exercise where the student will have to make a choice rather than mechanically put into the same slot the words fed to him.

In a multiple substitution drill, the slot in which the substitution must be made changes. The students must then learn how to determine in which slot each new word belongs, that is to say, he must identify the grammatical nature of each new word. This is truly a pattern drill since new sentences are constantly made out of a single pattern. If the multiple substitution drill uses more than two slots, as is the case in our sample, it is advisable for the teacher to repeat the latest sentence arrived at before he asks for a new substitution.

Because redundancy abounds in languages, one substitution within one slot frequently calls for the modification of one or several words in other slots. The drill becomes a correlation drill. It is possibly the most widely used of all structural drills because it lends itself well to the manipulation of morphology without isolating the forms. It has replaced paradigms. You will notice in the sample offered here that a double correlation is to be made, between subject and verb and between subject and possessive adjectives. This implies that correlation between subject and verb has been mastered first. A different type of correlation occurs (sample 2) when the word to be substituted does not demand a change in other slots but must itself be modified to enter its slot.

If we combine correlation with simple or multiple substitution, we have a new drill, more interesting, but quite difficult, in which morphological and semantic variations combine.

The last example of correlation drill is also a combination of multiple substitution and correlation but, whereas in the preceding example the change was progressive, here two substitutions (conjunction + pronoun) are made simultaneously, calling for a triple correlation (change of person in the first verb, change of tense in the first verb, change of pronoun in the second clause). Needless to say, this is a very difficult drill which requires the solution of several problems at once. It can be used only as the culmination of a series of graded substitution and correlation drills.

Transformation drills, more than others, are based on linguistic theory. All we need to know here is that, whereas substitution drills explore the variations within one particular structure, transformation drills teach how to shift from one structure to another. Rather than similarity, the basic principle is now opposition. There are as many transformation drills as there are grammatical oppositions in one given language. I will name only a few. **Opposition singular /plural:** I have a friend/ I have friends; We are going to the movies/ I am going to the movies; **opposition of tenses:** He looks at the clock/ He looked at the clock; **positive/negative:** I speak French/ I do not speak French; **affirmative/interrogative:** You speak French/ Do you speak French?, etc. The great difference between transformation drills and substitution drills is that the student is not fed one word after another, being asked only to fill a slot. He hears one whole sentence, understands it, or at least understands its structure, and immediately, shifting about the appropriate slots, changes it into another sentence. It is impossible (or almost) to let one's mind wander off. Constant attention is required. One danger, however, is that while performing the change of structure, the real meaning of the change, or of the whole sentence, may remain blurred. Since the sentences which serve as stimulus in a transformation drill are all different from one another, it may be wise, now and then, to stop the drill and ask for a quick translation of the sentence just heard. When the transformation requires that a segment of the sentence be replaced by a new segment entering a different slot, we have a drill like transformation sample 2. This should be used for pronouns and can lead to quite advanced practice such as: Je pense à mon examen/ J'y pense, Je pense à ma mère/ Je pense à elle; J'écris à ma mère/ Je lui écris.

Expansion drills are essentially syntactic drills. They use the echelon technique to transform progressively a short simple sentence into a much longer and more complex one. In order to escalate the degree of difficulty, such a drill can be done in progressive steps, from simple substitution to multiple substitution to expansion proper when the student is given one segment at a time and must insert it at the right place in the sentence. The drill must be constructed with great care so that no segment can be inserted at two different places.

While allowing the students to explore the minimal and maximal dimensions of a sentence, the expansion drill also provides excellent practice, at least in French, for intonation. As the sentence expands, the rising intonation shifts from one group of words to another.

Combination drills are simple and need no explanation. They are the only effective way to practice relative pronouns.

In all the preceding drills, the students imitate, with various kinds of changes, sentences given by the teacher. The next drills, although they still retain control over the structures to be used, take the students to the threshold of free conversation. Hence, they are more natural and more lively than the other types.

A contradiction drill is akin to a transformation drill, but takes the form of a dialogue. It is great fun for the students to be allowed to disagree violently with the teacher, no matter what he says. The contradictory response can either be in the negative: Non, non, . . . Mais non . . . ; or in the affirmative: Moi, je . . . Si, si . . ., according to directions. All marks of contradiction as they appear naturally in conversation are used here, including intonation. It is a marvelous drill, little known and little used. It is extremely helpful in particular for practicing morphological changes required in French by the use of the negative. "Moi, je sais qu'il reviendra/ Moi, je ne sais pas s'il reviendra," for instance, is not difficult for American students. Oppositions such as "Moi, je suis sûr qu'il viendra/ Moi, je ne suis pas sûr qu'il vienne," or "Vous avez de la patience/ Mais non, je n'ai pas de patience," or "Regardez-le/ Non, non, ne le regardez pas" require intensive practice because of interference of English grammatical habits.

The command drill is well known. It offers an excellent way to guide students toward freedom of expression. The sample given you here is not a directed dialogue but a true grammatical drill dealing with pronouns.

Question-answer drills belong to structural drills only when the question forces the student to use a particular grammatical structure. Most transformation exercises can be done as question-answer drills, thus gaining in naturalness. Contradiction drills also can easily take the form of a question-answer: "Vous ne croyez pas qu'il vienne? Si, si, je crois qu'il viendra."

If the grammatical structure to be learned is a difficult one, it is best to keep lexical variations at a minimum. The attention of the students must be free to concentrate on the grammatical transformation. If, on the contrary, the purpose of the drill is to practice vocabulary, the grammatical structure must remain as constant as possible. In all cases, the teacher must give a good model of what the answer must be before he starts the drill with his students. Question-answer sample 1 drills direct and indirect object pronouns. Here again, as in contradiction drills, adequate intonation will bring the drill to life. Question-answer sample 2 is only a variation of the question-answer drill. If we combine transformation, substitution and question-answer, we get a drill which will permit a dialogue between two students instead of a dialogue between the teacher and a student. The teacher makes a statement. One student transforms it into a question but changes the subject (substitution). Another student then answers the question. This kind of drill has the advantage of giving the students a chance to formulate questions — a prerogative too often the sole domain of the teacher. It provides, as does the command drill, an excellent point of departure for spontaneous conversation. There is no objection to allowing each student the initiative of the subject he wishes to substitute for the subject used in the statement. A substitution can also be made in the other slots (verb, direct or indirect object). Note that, as we approach complete freedom of expression, the possibility of practicing the drills in the laboratory disappears. On the tape, only one response to each stimulus is allowed.

We have now reached the last frontier of structural drills. Completion drills, in which the teacher gives the first part of a sentence and the student completes it as he wishes, are the signal of independence. They will be very profitable if the structures to be used have been carefully worked out through previous drills. The sample here checks the assimilation by students of the sequence of tenses. While there is no choice in the structure to be used, imagination can be exercised as far as content is concerned. This is exactly what we do when we speak.

This rapid survey of the various types of structural drills will help, I hope, to discredit the belief that the audio-lingual method condemns teacher and students to monotony and boredom. We have many tools at our disposal, and good tools. Let's use them. But let's not forget that the controlled manipulation of language through structural drills is not our ultimate goal. We want our students to develop grammatical habits so that they may think of what they want to say and not of how to say it. This liberation cannot be postponed to an uncertain date in the future after our students have completed months or years of drills. It must occur progressively along with the mastery of each structure. Structural drill sessions should always be followed by an immediate transfer of what has just been learned into meaningful spontaneous conversation. This is where the bridge connects with the other side of the river. If the failure of structural drills often originates in a poor understanding of how they should be presented to the students, it can also be traced to a lack of transfer to a live situation. Structural drills do not work miracles. But if one understands what they are and what they are not, they will play an effective role in our teaching.

SAMPLES OF STRUCTURAL DRILLS

REPETITION (Definite article)

Le professeur est ici.
Le livre est ici.
Voilà la table.
Voilà la gare.

Tu cherches l'église?
Tu cherches l'hôtel?
Où sont les cahiers?
Où sont les chaises?
Voilà les étudiantes.
Voilà les enfants.

SIMPLE SUBSTITUTION (verbs using à . . . . de . . . .)

Il dit à son ami de venir (demande)
Il demande __________ (parle)
__ parle __________
etc.

MULTIPLE SUBSTITUTION (vocabulary + place of adjective)

Elle cherche un quartier tranquille (trouve)
____ trouve ______________ (élégant)
______________________ élégant (chapeau)
____________ chapeau ________
etc.

CORRELATION 1 (possessive adjectives)

J'aime bien mon cours de français (Nous)
Nous aimons __ notre ______________ (Jacques)
Jacques aime __ son ______________
etc.

CORRELATION 2 (subjunctive after croire in the interr. form)

Crois-tu qu'il vienne demain? (écrire)
__________ écrive ______? (partir)
__________ parte ______?
etc.

CORRELATION 3 (de+adj.+noun plural/des+noun plural+adj.)

Nous avons lu de beaux livres (vu)
________ vu ____________________ (films)
____________________ films (intéressants)
______________ des films intéressants
etc.

CORRELATION 4 (sequence of tenses)

Comme il avait parlé, on l'a applaudi (Dès que nous)
Dès que nous avons eu parlé, on nous a applaudi (Bien que tu)
Bien que tu aies parlé, on t'a applaudi
etc.

TRANSFORMATION 1 (indirect speech)

T. Je demande où est Jean
S. J'ai demandé où était Jean
T. On me dit qu'il est absent
S. On m'a dit qu'il était absent
etc. . . .

TRANSFORMATION 2 (direct and non-direct object pronouns)

Je cherche mes livres/Je les cherche
Je vais au musée / J'y vais
etc. . . .

EXPANSION (word order)

Il est arrivé hier (soir)
______________ soir (le garçon)
Le garçon est arrivé hier soir (jeune)
Le jeune garçon est arrivé hier soir
etc. . . .

COMBINATION (relative pronouns)

T. Un homme arrive. C'est mon père.
S. L'homme qui arrive est mon père.
T. Un garçon achète les billets C'est Jacques.
S. Le garcon qui achète les billets est Jacques.
etc. . . .

CONTRADICTION (ne . . . pas/zero, ne . . . plus/encore, Ne . . . jamais/quelquefois)

T. Moi, je peux m'en occuper
S. Eh bien, moi, je ne peux pas m'en occuper
T. Moi, je peux encore m'en occuper
S. Eh bien, moi, je ne peux plus m'en occuper
T. Moi, je peux quelquefois m'en occuper
S. Eh bien, moi, je ne peux jamais m'en occuper

T. Vous n'avez pas faim? S. si, si, j'ai faim
T. Vous n'avez plus faim? S. Si, si, j'ai encore faim
T. Vous n'avez jamais faim? S. Si, si, j'ai quelquefois faim

COMMAND (indirect pronoun with imperative)

Dites à Paul de vous demander au téléphone, vous seul.
Paul, demandez-moi au téléphone.
Dites à Paul de vous demander au téléphone, vous deux.
Paul, demandez-nous au téléphone.
Dites à Paul de demander Jean au téléphone.
Paul, demandez-le au téléphone.

QUESTION-ANSWER 1 (direct and indirect pronouns)

Est-ce que tu as donné à Jean les objets qui sont arrivés pour lui?
Ah non, tiens! j'ai oublié de les lui donner.
Est-ce que tu as remis à Jean les objets qui sont arrivés pour lui?
Ah non, tiens! j'ai oublié de les lui remettre.
Est-ce que tu as porté à Jeanne les bagages qui sont arrivés pour elle?
Ah non, tiens! j'ai oublié de les lui porter.
etc. . . .

QUESTION-ANSWER 2 (same)

T. J'ai remis vos photos à Jean ce matin.
S.1 Est-ce que Paul a remis vos photos à Jean ce matin?
S.2 Mais oui, il les lui a remises.
etc. . . .

COMPLETION (sequence of tenses)

T. Si j'avais faim . . . .
S. Si j'avais faim, je . . . . (completes as he wishes)
T. Si j'avais froid . . . .
S. Si j'avais froid, je . . . .
etc. . . .

Laboratories and Machine Teaching: A Word of Caution

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A few weeks ago I had the privilege of delivering a paper at the national convention of the AATF on the effectiveness of the language laboratory at the college level. In that paper, my conclusions were that, generally speaking, the college laboratory could not possibly operate at its optimum capabilities until college language departments became really interested in teaching foreign languages.

Today, my assignment is to attempt to shed some light on the problems which have arisen because of the laboratory at the secondary school level.

At present, thousands of secondary schools find themselves saddled with language labs and thousands of others are contemplating the purchase of new ones. As a result of this situation, the U. S. educational establishment has a sizeable capital investment in this field. However, in spite of all the rapidly increasing money and time being poured into laboratories, most of us are, down deep, quite perturbed about the lack of positive results.

Even though most teachers are proud to show visitors their one status symbol, the laboratory, they seem to be quite ill at ease when asked to discuss just how and why they use it. In short, I feel that there is a widening gap between what secondary school teachers say about the laboratory and what they actually feel. The time has come for us to ask some specific questions on the laboratory at the secondary school level and to demand some specific answers before any more damage is done than has already occurred. We should know, for example, that if teacher A has two groups of statistically balanced students during the first semester of French, using the same materials, spending an exactly similar amount of time, the group using the laboratory is superior in X area to the group not using the laboratory. The only justification for a laboratory would be superiority in student performance in a given area. So far, to the best of my knowledge, only one solid piece of research has been done in this area. Sarah W. Lorge of the Bureau of Audio Visual Instruction, New York City Board of Education, demonstrated in a study reported in the November, 1964 issue of the **Modern Language Journal** that students having used certain types of equipment performed better in some areas than students who had used a different type of equipment or no equipment at all. The result of this excellent study was significantly encouraging in only one area, that of retention of students in the language program. In other words, the most significant difference was that many more students who had used the laboratory kept on studying foreign languages for a much longer sequence than those who had not used the laboratory.

In addition, there have been some worthwhile studies in very limited fields, such as sound discrimination, which can be classified as research. By and large, however, most publications and papers, including my own, are not based on research in the true sense of the word. They are merely based upon opinions, which are always well-meaning, but sometimes grossly biased. It is time that we stop acting as the result of opinions and that we act only on the basis of proven, documented research.

The problem in the secondary school is **time**. At the college level, laboratory time is spent in preparation for and in addition to regular classroom time. Given motivation and proper materials, we can almost assume that those students who go to lab will be superior in a given area to those who do not go. Even here, if it were the purpose of this paper to explore this particular area, I think we would be assuming too much. In the secondary school, as I have already stated, the big problem boils down to this: In the same amount of time, will student performance improve in a given area if, instead of teaching him "live," he works in a lab situation? With no research whatsoever to back me up, in other words, in my opinion, I think the answer is NO. The cliches that have been used in the past are false. The lab is not a private tutor; it is not the only way in which a perfect model can be given to the students; it does not do away with, nor does it successfully deal with, individual differences.

Stated flatly, I feel that the laboratory as I have seen it used in hundreds of secondary schools is a total waste of time and money. Let me emphasize, however, the phrase "as I have seen it used." This does not mean, and I have not said, that the laboratory in the secondary school is useless. If properly used, it can result in superior student performance in the secondary school. The rest of this paper is dedicated to what is meant by "properly used."

First, in the laboratory, only a certain kind of material should be used, i.e., materials designed for self-learning. Today, practically all classroom materials fall into the same error of presentation immediately followed by testing, as the traditional textbooks. Instead of a paradigm, we now have model sentences, one for each form of the verb. Instead of filling the blank with the proper form, we now have a person-number substitution drill. The sequence is still **presentation - test.** The test results are about as dismal as ever. What is missing is **the learning phase,** where the student has the opportunity to learn each and every form of the verb individually before he is asked to choose the proper one. If, for example, we wish to teach the forms of the verb **to be** in the present indicative, the model sentences must be followed by a sequence of at least **eight** analogical frames for each of the six persons before the person-number substitution drill is given.

It is these sequences which use the principle of analogy that can be done in the lab on a self-learning basis. For the students to do this work correctly in a lab situation requires three things:

1. That the student can properly pronounce each response.
2. That he understands the process of analogy.
3. That he wants to do the exercise properly.

Point #1 can be taken care of by making sure each student can pronounce the model sentences. Point #2 can be taken care of by a good student orientation in which the teacher demonstrates how the principle of analogy is applied to linguistic drills. Point #3 can be partly covered by the fact that the students will have the reward of knowing they are constantly giving correct answers and partly by the promise of a test on which they can easily make a perfect score.

Second, the laboratory must free the teacher so that he may work with smaller groups or with individuals. Teachers are continually screaming that they do not have the time to work with individuals or small groups. If my first recommendation were followed, there would be no need whatsoever for the teacher to be monitoring the students. This would allow him to keep X number of students doing their self-learning in a lab situation while he worked with, let us say, a third of the class on such an item as dialogue recitation or unpatterned directed dialogue. In other words, the teacher must decide what activities in class by the whole group would result in better use of time if carried out in smaller groups. For example, I have never quite understood why, when two students are reciting a dialogue, the whole group must listen and usually be bored to death, or when working on such ticklish problems as the French sound /y/, we insist on working with 30 students at a time. If it were not for this flexibility which allows for better use of the allotted time, then the use of a lab situation to carry out the materials proposed in my first point would not be warranted. They could be carried out in class, "live" or with a tape recorder.

Third, the laboratory equipment must provide for testing of speech production on an objective basis and for individual work. Every laboratory should include at least 12 positions equipped with dual channel equipment so that, within a period of 50 minutes, a class of 30 students can be given a speech production test. These may be specific tests on such things as verb forms within a structure, or more global exams such as the MLA Cooperative Classroom Tests.

Until you can grade accurately and objectively student speech production, the speaking skill will never be taken seriously by the students. You **cannot** do this by listening to one student at a time. The same twelve machines can also be used so that students who need, or wish, to work individually can do so. There is no guarantee whatsoever that self-learning materials can be learned by **all** students in the same number of minutes. With experience, you can allot a certain amount of class time to be spent in laboratory situation on self-learning materials to achieve a certain specific objective. For some, however, it will be insufficient. Others will be absent. Let us not speak of those who require less time. They, too, are a problem, but for the purpose of this paper, I think we already have enough serious problems. As I have already mentioned, the same machines that are used for testing can be made useful for individual work, **IF** something is done about my next point.

Fourth, a usage schedule must be devised so that students who wish — or must — can spend additional time working in the lab. This is not an easy task. Students have a pretty full schedule — some don't even have a study hall. They have outside jobs and transportation problems. A schedule must be arranged in such a way that at least on one given day, each week, the lab is free and manned during each period. In addition, it should be opened one hour early in the morning and one hour after school. This is being done in some schools.

It **can** be done. If students are properly trained, you can use advanced students to man the laboratory during these free periods. If, however, you are not willing to spend the time to build your tape library, work out the schedule, train the students and arrange for student assistance, then I suggest that you stop being disappointed in your laboratory and face up squarely to the unpleasant truth.

In order to find out whether or not **you**, the individual teacher, are or are not ready to deal efficiently with a laboratory, please answer **YES** or **NO** to the following questions:

1. Do you believe that, to a great extent, language is a set of speech habits?
2. Are you willing to work for greatly improved student performance one more hour per day for each work day during the next two years without assurance of compensation?
3. Do you really believe a student can be made to want to practice without using the threat of punishment?
4. Do you understand and can you apply the principle of substitution to a syntactic structure?
5. Do you understand and can you apply the principle of transformation to a syntactic structure?
6. Do you understand what is meant by "Immediacy of Response" in a speech production test?
7. Are you — or do you have some one available who is — absolutely fluent in the language you are teaching?
8. Do you understand what is meant by "Immediate Reinforcement" in a language learning situation?
9. Do you really believe that 90% of students taking a foreign language can be made to understand the conversation of natives in three years of secondary school?
10. Do you understand the difference between "Repetition" and "Manipulation" in a language teaching situation?

If you have answered **NO** to any of the ten questions above, I suggest that you think seriously about each and every one of these questions before you spend any more money on labs or before you blame the one you have for disappointing you.

There is nothing wrong with the lab **per se** in the secondary school. What is wrong is the lack of clear research data, the shoddiness of the equipment, the poor quality of some of the materials available (including some of my own), the lack of understanding of the most basic principles of language learning, the overloading of teachers, a lack of understanding of the learners and, perhaps most important, the almost total absence of positive action by college and university foreign language departments in the face of change.

In conclusion, let us be more cautious, more critical, than we have been in the past. When you read reports of so-called research, please ask who the students were, how many took part in the experiment, what was taught, by whom, how it was taught in each control group, etc. Then, and only then, when you are satisfied that all the factors can apply to **your** situation and **your** students, should you be willing to accept the findings as applicable to **your** school. Last, but not least, let us spend less time looking at machines and more time looking at ourselves!

The Issues and The Foreign Language Teachers

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I previously published a statement, "Issues We Must Face,"[1] to which I call attention only because it forms the basis for these additional thoughts. In this discussion I am focusing attention on the foreign language teacher in an era of great social change. The force of social change throughout the United States is having a profound effect upon our professional future. These forces are making us more uncertain of what we are doing and why we are doing it.

We cannot avoid acknowledging the fact that the population of this country is undergoing extreme changes. At every level of our national life the relationships between individuals are being reoriented with great rapidity and, therefore, are growning less stable. Physically and spiritually the vast majority of our people is being dislocated and conditioned to the idea that dislocation is an ingredient of progress. And even if we remain rooted in one place, as I have done, this dislocation comes to us and we must either accept the challenge of coping with it or be submerged by it.

I can best illustrate this point from my own experience. I have spent my whole life as a resident of metropolitan Milwaukee and my whole professional life as a student and faculty member of the University of Wisconsin. I have for the last decade taught and worked within two miles of the home in which I spent my childhood. But I have seen the institution in which I am teaching grow from a two-year college program for 206 students in 1943, to 2,868 students in the post World War II years, to a second university campus of 13,000 students with graduate studies including one established and three newly developing doctor-of-philosophy programs. In that time I have participated actively in a wide range of educational responsibilities, including five years of administration as an associate dean. Thus, though I remained physically stable, I still cannot find in my experience that any two successive years were in any way a close facsimile one of the other.

There is no need to add further emphasis to this point. We must accept dislocation as a basic characteristic of our contemporary life. **It is our responsibility as teachers of foreign languages to be prepared for a future that cannot be predicted by any past experiences.** And yet we cannot function effectively as educators without a sense of stability and security.

Yet the latter **can** be achieved, but only on an individual basis and by an individual commitment to contribute maximum effort to the professional responsibility that foreign language teaching demands at any given moment. In defining this individual commitment, I may be of some assistance in demonstrating how stability in the midst of dislocation can be achieved to maintain the constant progress of our profession.

Our **first** commitment must be to a **love of what we teach.** I purposely use the word "love" to emphasize that this is an emotional commitment which needs no rationalization. What we are fully involved in emotionally reflects itself in personal radiance which is not only easily recognized by others but also affects them affirmatively. The great teachers of all ages have never had to proclaim to others that they were teachers. The effect they had on others in motivating change in them, in captivating them with their own intense enthusiasm, was sufficient to establish their supremacy as teachers. This enthusiasm has two simple facets: a demonstrable pleasure in teaching, and an unprejudiced and altruistic interest in other individuals. For some of us the latter is not easy to cultivate — but it can be, and by the most simple of all processes.

When I was quite young I once read a book about George Fox and the Society of Friends, commonly known as Quakers. What remained with me from that reading was the exposition of Fox's belief that a part of God is present in each individual and that it is to the part of God in each individual that each individual must address himself. This same tenet is echoed by Paul Claudel in **L'Annonce faite à Marie** in the words of Pierre de Craon: "Qui êtes-vous, jeune fille, et quelle est donc cette part que Dieu en vous s'est réservée."[3] Whether this belief is accepted or not, it does indicate that with a positive attitude we can find the excellent quality in every individual to which we can appeal and with which we can associate ourselves.

This personal affirmative involvement with each student must be effectively practiced by any teacher who seeks to be successful. There is no doubt in my mind that much of the lack of successful learning by students can be attributed to negative and egocentric qualities in the personalities of teachers.

Our **second** commitment must be to intense and expanding **curiosity.** This must first be directed to one's own subject or, in this case, the language taught. We know from experience with our own native language that it is never completely mastered, that there are always words, constructions, spellings, and the like, which are new to us or never fully acquired. It is irrational, then, to assume that one can never learn more in a second language.

Curiosity in itself is a tacit and implied admission of ignorance. It is perhaps one of the greatest handicaps of our profession that we are not willing to admit our own ignorance with humility and to accept it in others so that we can be helpful. It may assure you to know that this address has been submitted to my graduate student assistants for reading and criticism. It will also assure you to know that very few manuscripts are published in **The Modern Language Journal** without revision based on critical observations of readers. Curiosity then should never be stifled because of its revelation of ignorance. Every member of our profession can help himself immeasurably by committing himself to seeking and giving assistance to the extent of his abilities without attaching any stigma of ignorance to this process. It is on this premise that utilization of The Modern Language Association Proficiency Tests and the testing program is offered to foreign language teachers as an opportunity to analyze privately their own capacities as foreign language specialists. Curiosity about one's own proficiency should impel everyone who teaches one of the languages for which a full battery of tests is available to have himself tested.

Curiosity need not be stimulated only through interaction of individuals. Every medium of learning is available to keep a teacher of foreign languages alert to the expanding knowledge about his own and related fields. It has always amazed me that so many teachers are not self-propelled readers, that they do not avidly at least scan as much of the available literature as possible. To be sure, one must budget one's time, but I do not find any excuse for a total indifference to professional readings. Nor do I comprehend the motivation of a teacher of a foreign language who does not do recreational reading regularly in that language.

Our **third** commitment must be to **critical analysis.** Dislocation constantly presents new situations, new techniques, new media of instruction. None of these can be rejected simply because they disturb our own systems or well-established routines, because through rejection the dislocation of the individual in relation to his own profession will only be accelerated. This does not mean that blind acceptance of anything new will have an opposite effect. On the contrary, such action consistently pursued can only cause personality dislocation and complete frustration. We know that these two forces are acting to prevent the effective evolution of the language laboratory as a teaching aid. On the one hand there are those teachers who are absolutely opposed to its use, and on the other there are those who use the laboratory as a gesture to progress without being convinced of its values in the total framework of foreign language teaching. The same is true in the area of method. As a result of negativism and frustration, the results, i.e., students who have become proficient masters of a second language, are not commensurate with the outpouring of funds and services to the foreign langauge teaching profession.

Critical analysis must be the mainspring of any teaching responsibility. It can only be exercised with as complete a background of information as is possible at any given moment because only with adequate documentation can a valid choice between alternatives be exercised. Part of the process of acquiring information is the absolutely necessary awareness of the sources of such information. A facility to find required information must be cultivated by anyone who wishes to qualify as a teacher. It is, therefore, most urgent that every member of this profession have at his immediate disposal such professional literature as will make him competent to judge professional problems critically.

Consultation with colleagues is always beneficial but can only lead to complete reliance on the opinions of others unless critical analysis of advice offered can be exercised. I would be very disappointed if I did not find that these observations of mine were being subjected to the severest critical scrutiny. Indeed, I would be most chagrined if my readers were unanimously assenting to all I say. But I am convinced that what I now have written is the best that my own judgment can render with the knowledge I now have. It is with the aspiration of gaining new insights through the critical judgments of others that one is spurred to make his own judgments available in speech and in writing.

I have said above with purpose that "I am convinced." This is the **fourth** commitment: **conviction.** It is only from satisfactory critical analysis that conviction is born. It is only from conviction in one's own competence as a foreign language teacher that good teaching with positive results can be gained. I am not speaking of arrogant pride, of assumptions of competence sustained by prejudice or ill-defined criteria, such as often pervade the discussion of the role of the native in foreign language teaching. I am speaking of conviction that results from the previous three commitments: **love of profession, curiosity,** and **critical analysis.** Without this conviction we cannot work together. It is basic to any progress we can make in defining teacher training standards which affect articulation and in general advance the welfare of the students and the profession. Fortunately, it does exist at some levels but not universally enough to allow one to plan for the future with sanguine anticipation.

The primary manifestation of conviction is integrity, the unswerving commitment to a position, without duplicity or reservation, so that this very commitment can be a source of motivation for others towards concerted action. We cannot advance ourselves, our students, or our profession unless we can demonstrate that our teaching, our scholarship, and our professional activity are motivated by idealism and divested of gross self-interest which trades a Macchiavellian immediate advantage for a long range social benefit.

This takes **courage**, which is our **fifth** commitment. We must have many, many more foreign language teachers out in front; in fact, we would have little left to do if the crowding were in the front ranks of responsibility, if the leadership were constantly challenged by competitive leaders. Remember, however, that I am speaking of courage as a fifth commitment, not as an isolated manifestation of bluster. I do not believe that anyone can even have effective control of his own life, if he cannot at any time stand forthrightly on his convictions. Nor should courage of this type be challenged as an affront to personal ties between colleagues. It should rather be sought out and admired as a means of clarifying issues and avoiding misunderstanding.

Lastly, the **sixth** commitment is to **effort.** Work must be done and done well if all the promises in foreign language teaching are to be fulfilled. Great effort is constantly needed when few are ready to join in. But most professional tasks would not be demanding if everyone put forth additional effort to the limit of his time and capacity. Some of my colleagues and I have been discussing ways of developing a huge national pyramid of professional committees and action teams which would involve the greatest number of foreign language teachers in determining their own professional destinies. At present this can already be done at the most local level wherever two or more teachers will join in solving any problem. It is at this level that foreign language programs in the elementary schools should be developed if it is advisable to do so. The success of such a program requires the close cooperation of all who, because of language teaching experience, can see the directions to be taken and how a purposeful and totally articulated program within the school system and within the community can be meaningful and thus effective.

It appears then to me that we cannot speak of issues confronting the foreign language teaching profession without first making it very clear that no progress will be made in solving them unless these personal commitments are at least kept constantly in focus as achievable goals.

I have alluded to more specific issues in passing. We cannot avoid the total impact of the social change manifested in larger school enrollments, different student orientation socially, culturally, and economically from that which we have known, broader scope of vocational objectives among students, greater penetration of technology in all phases of teaching, and necessarily greater demands on those who have an appreciation of literature and the arts to demonstrate to the unwitting how their lives can be enriched through them. We can no longer clearly define the specific issues. They change too rapidly to achieve crystallization. The issues are raised only by the dislocation of individual social factors. It is evident, for example, that we can no longer continue publishing textbooks which have no valid social orientation for the student or a valid presentation of content based on order developed from research. We have a continuing flood of second-year college books which have not changed in format or teaching premises since the turn of the century. We have greater and greater numbers of non-intellectually oriented foreign language students who are being taught a nineteenth-century romantic content which conceals from them that vast majorities of picturesque foreign natives suffer great horrors daily through malnutrition, disease, ignorance and superstition. For these, even those Americans living in the worst conditions would feel compassion. It is imperative that foreign language teachers begin to study contemporary society as it is and face the degradation, horror, and suffering which manifests itself everywhere.

What textbook in Spanish with a title similar to "Camino Real" tells students that, while one is dining in what is considered a luxury hotel in South America, whole families of mestizos, mothers with children slung over their backs, are gleaning their evening meal from the garbage cans and subsequently, if unlucky, dying of food poisoning. What Brazilian Portuguese text describes the shanties of Rio de Janeiro on the hillsides and in the swamps in which hundreds died or were seriously injured in the torrential rains of January, 1966? What textbook of any kind tells us that life is cheap, that we must learn to look at poverty and pass it by, that we must learn to see luxury and naked destitution joined promiscuously throughout the continent? What frank exposition of the unstable currencies, the inflation, the animosity between Latin American countries is ever brought to the attention of our students?[8] And because students learn of these conditions in other courses, they look upon foreign language classes taught by **aficionados** in which concern is only for the pleasant and non-controversial aspects of foreign life as a Disneyland which they have outgrown.

There is a middle road which can objectively be pursued so that the great effort and contribution of men of goodwill in arts, literature, or technology can be forthrightly reflected in the immense problems that many foreign countries must still solve if they are to bring their peoples economically and spiritually into significant relation with the twentieth century.

The stability for ourselves and our profession can only be assured through our own development as individuals. If we are fully committed individually we shall at least have the professional resources to move towards dramatic solutions of issues already well defined. But the solutions elude us and we continue to come around full circle because we have not stressed the necessity of full commitment by the teachers. But since there are always some who are fully committed, we have been moving, although perhaps not always perceptibly.

If each individual has developed his own central core of stability, any dislocation can only be a temporary modification of the course of one's professional life. If we are honest and forthrightly committed to these or other equally valid professional virtues we will certainly quickly resume our equilibrium in the face of any issue.

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1. The Modern Language Journal, Vol. XLIX, No. 5 (May, 1965), pp. 307-311.
2. Paris: Gallimard, 1940, p. 13.
3. I had at the time of writing these observations just returned from a three-week tour and speaking engagement in South America.

Teaching English as a Second Language

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I am not sure from which department I am a renegade—English or foreign languages. I taught English. This was the subject for which my undergraduate and graduate work had prepared me. Then I entered a nine months' NDEA French Institute, did some study in France, and taught French for four years. On my way toward a master's degree in French, I suddenly became head of a project which has as its goal the teaching of standard English as a second language, or, if you will, a second dialect, by foreign language teaching techniques. It is obvious that I am a hybrid. And yet, perhaps hybrids are needed in this program.

At any rate, it is a source of real gratification that the Southern Conference On Language Teaching has recognized the importance of teaching English as a second language. As large urban communities such as Atlanta become more and more the areas of the disadvantaged —culturally, emotionally, and educationally — more deviations from standard English, or more general usage of these deviations, will become apparent to us. If we are to help these students learn a second dialect, standard English, it is generally agreed by such authorities as William A. Stewart and Raven I. McDavid, Jr., that such instruction can best be done by the methods and techniques now rather generally employed by teachers of modern foreign languages. Changes in the attitudes of teachers and changes in their teaching techniques must take place.

As a consequence, four Communication Skills Laboratories have been established in four integrated high schools in Atlanta, at the eighth grade level, to teach the skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing, in that order. Auditory discrimination tests have been administered, and activities involving attentive listening have been part of the program. Repetition drills have been the means of encouraging correct pronunciation of sounds unfamiliar to the students' own dialect. Repetition and substitution drills have been used to teach structures in standard English which are different from the dialect which the students speak. Many techniques in the teaching of reading are being used, and instruction in basic composition is yielding some gratifying results.

We need to return, however, to some of the things we discovered about these children when we began to teach them. One of the most astounding and disturbing discoveries was their reading level. We found eighth graders who were non-readers, or who were reading at first through fifth grade levels. We have sought, then, to attack the reading problems with every means available to us. However, we have recognized that basic to the problem of reading was the problem of the inability to understand and speak standard English. Therefore, much of our effort has been directed toward determining the deviations from standard speech in pronunciation and structure, and in making up and using pattern practice drills to teach new pronunciations and structures.

We are in no way implying that the dialect spoken by these children is wrong. On the contrary, it is quite right for the home and for many social situations in which these children must communicate. In addition, this dialect has its own stature. It has its own fairly fixed constructions which are linguistically quite interesting. It is true, however, that it is not the dialect of the classroom nor of the business world. Therefore, if we hope for future successes in these areas for these children, we must recognize our responsibility for teaching them standard English as a second dialect. As Mr. Bostain said this morning, "You don't have to stop the child's saying 'ain't'; you have to equip him to say 'isn't.' "

Virginia McDavid had been wrestling with the problem of standard English with some of her college students in Chicago, and came home one evening to announce wearily that she had been "teaching a foreign language all week." I am not implying that Mrs. McDavid was the first to see this possibility and use it. I don't know. I only mention it because it illustrates the natural, common sense approach to the problem.

Dr. William A. Stewart, of the Center for Applied Linguistics, explains the intellectual rationale for this method of teaching. The vocabulary of the dialect of these students is largely derived from English. The grammar, however, is not. The grammatical structures are quite different. We have met with success in teaching the structures of French, Spanish, German, and Russian with oral drills; why not standard English? This, then, is exactly what is taking place in many schools and colleges throughout the country. English is not only being taught as a second language to speakers of other languages, but as a second dialect to speakers of the so-called substandard dialects of English.

In the Communication Skills Laboratories in Atlanta, the first few weeks were devoted largely to informal listening and speaking activities. For everyone, it was a "listening period." Teachers were listening to students, while students were listening to each other and to taped recordings of their own speech. Mock job interviews among the young people were recorded for two reasons. One, in order that they could be compared with similar interviews taped at the end of the school year, to determine what improvements in speech had taken place; and two, to enable the teachers to observe the deviations from Standard English from which the drills would be constructed.

In composing the drills which are now in use in the labs, the teachers have followed the rules and the models set forth in Edward M. Stack's book, **The Language Laboratory and Modern Language Teaching.** In introducing the drills, the teachers have used brief dialogues or ridiculous short rhymes which they have written, or poems which they have "borrowed" from Ann Flowers' delightful **Big Book of Sounds.** This has been done in the firm conviction that Karl Pond was right when he said that every class period should have in it "something pink." We have had some quite "rosy" sessions.

Surely it is more fun to learn to pronounce correctly the final sound of "t" if it is introduced by the frankly silly poem,

> Kate, Kate, why do you wait
> At the garden gate? It's half past eight.
> Don't you think it's getting late?

Or if, just before one tackled the rather difficult uses of "do, don't, does, and doesn't" he could learn the dizzy little rhyme,

> Jane, Jane gives me a pain;
> She doesn't seem to have a brain.

The drill which follows is more meaningful to the children because it continues to use the idea and the terminology of the rhyme, which are both familiar in the child's life situation, rather than a stuffy sentence from a textbook.

> Does Jane give you a pain? No, she doesn't.
> Do I give you a pain? No, you don't.

Do they give you a pain? No, they don't.
Does he give you a pain? No, he doesn't. Etc.

This is a serious business, being undertaken quite seriously by earnest teachers. But you will get some idea of the charming sense of humor and fun which is inherent in the whole program when you know that many drills are constructed because of deviations overheard by the teachers and listed in a card index file which is labeled, "Ye Gods, we have to work on that structure next!"

Efforts in the teaching of composition have been very much like the teaching of writing in a foreign language. In fact, one of our most useful sources for teaching basic composition has been an article by Jean Praninskas, called "Controlled Writing," published in the NCTE bulletin, **On Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages.** An interesting possibility for the development of composition has been used with success by one of the teachers in a lab. She has used the oral drills, which involve sentences, as a basis for the development of paragraphs. This insures the correct use of verb forms. Motivated by poetry, pictures, and music, the children have produced some interesting pieces of creative writing.

There are indications that the program is working. These classes of children who could not or would not read, and had never read for pleasure, are now voluntarily withdrawing 70 to 75 books a week from their class libraries. In the areas of pronunciation and grammatical structures in which they have specifically been taught, most of the students now know when they have made an error, and they are quick to correct themselves and each other. There are some, of course, who still look startled and indignant when a standard structure differs from theirs. But that's all right. We didn't hope to be "all things to all people" in one year.

Foremost among our efforts in the Communication Skills Labs will be to teach children to produce the sounds and the structures of standard English. Should you come to visit us, do not be alarmed if you do not see phonics books or grammar books. We may be involved in learning to use the terminal "s" sound, instead of ignoring it. In this case, please feel free to join us in repeating,

There was a young man named Maurice,
Who was wanted by all the police.
When they got his address
From his old girl friend, Bess,
He was packing a greasy valise.

The Language of the Socially Disadvantaged

Charlotte K. Brooks
District of Columbia Public Schools

Is language really just a stream of noise broken into sentences and phrases, words and sounds? Is standard English a status symbol, marking those who speak "correctly" as intelligent and good, branding those who speak "incorrectly" as stupid and bad?

Charles Fries characterizes standard English as:

> "A set of language habits in which the major matter of the political, social, economic, educational, religious life of this country is carried on. To these language habits is attached a certain social prestige. It is this set of language habits . . . which is the 'standard' not because it is any more correct or more beautiful or more capable than other varieties of English; it is standard solely because it is the particular type of English . . . used by the **socially acceptable** of most of our communities, and insofar as that is true it has become social or class dialect in the United States."[1]

Is it the teacher's task to lift students from their stupidity and badness to intelligence and goodness? This job is difficult when the teacher has himself been lifted — or has lifted himself by his own bootstraps. He is in constant terror of slipping. He is on the edge of an abyss into which he might fall. Only constant vigilance saves him from **Me an' him went over my cousin house** or **I ain't goin' no place** or **That 'ere pin don't write good.** If he falls, he sins; he is doomed to lower class status.

Jean Malmstrom says that in Jamaica education is conducted mostly in Standard Jamaican Talk, and that the Jamaican who is secure in his social status — high or low — is secure in his language usage.[2] The unhappy Jamaican is the one who has been educated beyond the status of his ancestors and who now scorns Folk Jamaican Talk but is not completely sure of his Standard Jamaican Talk. He must be uncomfortably careful as he speaks Standard Talk and avoids Folk usage. This, I suggest, can be as true of American educators.

"Aspiring middle class teachers," says Donald Lloyd,

> "have a set of attitudes partly learned in the school and college training of English teachers with its monolithic fixation on 'correct English' as the main proper outcome of education in English and the language arts. It is a fixation often nourished in the teacher's own sense that only by parting with his origins, learning correct English, and moving out of the neighborhood has he been able to cut himself off from the foreign, rural, or working class ways of his parents."[4]

The task of changing language patterns is quite difficult when students reject the standard English and choose to speak the non-standard dialect. And don't be fooled; the choice is often made deliberately. Many who choose to change do so. Sidney Poitier changed his West Indian dialect to standard English because he wanted to become an actor. He chose to change. A Negro psychologist and educator in Chicago chose to change from non-standard speech because he wanted to enter the two fields cited. These men were compelled to change; no teacher led or forced them to this, and no teacher can. The compulsion must come from within.

The task is exceptionally difficult when there seems to be no need to change from non-standard to standard English. When persons communicate well with family and friends, when the whole community speaks in the same way, when only outsiders—teachers and the rejecting power structure — seek to enforce a change for reasons that are not clearly understood, when people are told constantly that they are wrong although everything within the community shows clearly that they are right: when these things are true people will not change. When the peer group accepts them as they are and rejects them when and if they change, when they are slapped down for "actin' uppity;" called "high-falutin," when they lose friends, when the other society will not take them in even if they **do** change: when these things happen, they will resist change. These people know how to survive, and they know — or think they know — what is best for them. Why should **they** do all of the changing?

The task is just about impossible when weary and worn out old ways are used to secure a change in speech and usage. When children are accused of having lazy tongues, when they are ordered to open their mouths, to sound the endings, and are—actually or by implication —told that they are slow when they close up like clams because their language is not acceptable: when these things are done to children, they **cannot** change. When older students and adults drearily do dull daily drills, when they endlessly underline subjects and verbs in stupid sentences, when they interminably outline outdated sentences no one ever uses in real life, we know they are not helped. Jack R. Cameron says that for many years teachers of English have been warned that the language they advocate has slight relation to the language used in the world.[4] And this **is** so!

A Personal View

Let me tell you something that I know about myself. You have been listening to me, and I assume that you understand what I am saying. At least you can follow my speech, and my usage is not too confusing. A friend who is a speech teacher tells me that I am guilty, almost constantly, of the "i for e substitution." That is, I say **pin** for the writing instrument and for the fastener. I first attended school in Mississippi, the home of my mother and father, so this is not strange. But — my language has always been just about like this, and I sound very much like my mother who was born and reared in Mississippi. In short, when I started school my teachers accepted me as a speaker of standard English, and I learned to read and to write without trouble. I had no new language to listen to and learn; no non-standard language to unlearn before I could proceed. Although in Massachusetts I am told that I have a **southern** accent.

Let me admit something also. I am not at all immune to the balanced beauty of literate language. I always found it easier to teach students whose language I understood and who understood and responded to mine. I prefer the polished phrase, the educated epigram, the wonderful words of wisdom that flow smoothly from the lips in liquid syllables. Mumblers and fumblers for words make **me** impatient too. There are many words and phrases that cause me to cringe in middle-class misery — and among these are some listed by linguists as acceptable. I don't care for the cigarette that tastes good **like** a cigarette should.

What I am objecting to is a lack of linguistic knowledge among educators — a lack that makes them insecure about their own language and critical of the language of others; a lack that makes them fail to accept so-called non-standard English. I have heard Dr. Ruth Strickland say that children come to school knowing grammar and knowing it well. If the grammar is non-standard, teachers insist that the children don't know **any** grammar, make them unlearn it, and attempt to teach them a new one, alien to their lives. This is the rejecting attitude that I deplore. As a child I did not experience this; I simply learned the rules for a language I spoke and found acceptable in school. **Acceptance** is what I want for all students. Then the standard language can be taught at the right time and in the right way.

May I share with you an experience that Gerald Weinstein[8] had in a secondary school? He was then with the Urban Teacher Preparation Program of the School of Education, Syracuse University. He was called upon by a teacher who had given up on the tough problem of teaching poetry to an unresponsive class. Weinstein went into the class with "Motto" by Langston Hughes.

Motto

I play it cool
And dig all jive
That's the reason I stay alive.
My motto, as I live and learn
Is: To dig and be dug in return.

After passing out the poem without comment and giving the class a chance to read it, Weinstein heard someone say, "Tough." This led to an inductive lesson in language and literature, for this teacher "dug all jive" and knew what "tough" meant. Do you? In non-standard English, the class engaged in a literary and linguistic discussion of the poem. Weinstein proved that he understood this language and revealed — most importantly — that he could speak a language they could **not** understand. This put him at the heart of the matter: the necessity for their knowing many kinds of jive — or language — including his. They discovered what they thought Langston Hughes was saying: that persons, to stay alive, must dig more than one kind of jive — must master more then one kind of language. A foreign language? Yes. But the socially disadvantaged must also learn that other tongue — standard American English.

And by persons Langston Hughes meant, Gerald Weinstein meant, and I mean, that teachers as well as students must do this. It can be learned from linguists, from radio and television, and from students.

Teachers like you, who know how to teach other tongues, **must** help. If teachers are willing to learn as well as to teach, perhaps students will be equally willing to teach as well as to learn.

Educators, publishers, and the public at large are castigated by Cameron who states that experts have offered little in the way of textbooks that take a more practical, liberal stand in matters of language. In fact, a dreadful kind of non-English is still perpetrated in the name of good English, and linguistic follies like the distinction between shall and will, "The winner is I," "The baseball experts are they and we" and other atrocities are taught as standard English.

In a talk that I gave in San Francisco at the NCTE annual meeting in 1963, my own attitude is apparent. For example:

> Linguists say that all languages and dialects are really of equal merit, and that good language is simply language which gets the desired effect with the least trouble for the user . . .

Later in the paper I said:

> Many teachers of the language arts, themselves the products of the so-called middle classes, teach . . . as though standard English speech and usage were historically and geographically fixed and immutable, with certain well-known laws that always have been and always must be obeyed. Textbooks — those best of all authorities — have blandly stated these laws and teachers have inexorably taught them. Nice little girls and good little boys have easily learned and practiced these correct forms because, invariably, this is the kind of usage that they have always heard and seen. . . . With few problems in the language arts, these children have moved from elementary to secondary school and then usually to college and to professional careers.
>
> The others? On entering school they have learned very quickly how unlike the socially accepted pattern they are. . . . Teachers have said, for example: "Her speech reflects her personality traits," or "Careless, sloppy speech reveals a careless, sloppy person."

In the same talk I spoke of my experience in Birmingham (not

Birming**ham**) England, where I never did understand some of the "brummy" I heard, and where my family shared funny and sometimes embarrassing experiences because of language differences.

We learned that we must not request a cot for our large son, Joe. An American cot is an English crib.

We learned — after a mad tea party — not to ask for napkins. These are diapers, and we **did** have them on the table at that tea.

We learned to accept, "The team are ready" and to place useless "u's" in words like **colour** and **labour.**

I learned to teach the full stop instead of the period, and the comma instead of the colon after the salutation of a business letter.

I learned to ask for the litter bin instead of the trash basket, and for drawing pins instead of thumb tacks.

Best of all, I learned to be less dogmatic about the English language. After all, the English spoke it first.

Possible Approaches

William La Bov of Columbia's Department of Linguistics has asked why Negro children are placed in slow classes because they do not perceive certain sound differences, when standard speech gives only faint signals. Who can hear the final sounds of **asked** and **got?**

A possible approach, suggests La Bov, may be the foreign language one; that is, teaching standard English with some of the methods used in teaching English to foreigners. In that 1963 speech, I advocated this:

> The same media used for teaching foreign languages should be used for teaching standard English as a second language: interesting objects and pictures, tape recorders, records, television programs, language laboratories, films, and new textbooks based upon the findings of linguistic science. First though, and most importantly, sensitive and competent teachers must use these media.

Shortly after the San Francisco meeting, the staff of the Department of English of the District of Columbia Public Schools began planning a communications laboratory with the help of several interested teachers. Last year the Office of Economic Opportunity provided funds and one laboratory is now functioning in a junior high school and another in a vocational school as a part of the Model School Division of the District of Columbia Public Schools. We have standardized a more elaborate communications suite, where specialists in remedial reading and in speech correction will work in rooms adjoining the English communications laboratory.

In the laboratory a resource teacher who was involved in the initial planning is working with the basic listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills. The room is filled with colorful and readable paperback books for skill building as well as for enrichment. Booths, tape recorders, listening posts, programmed materials, and other innovations are being tried. In-service education has been provided for the second language approach, and this will be built into the suites now being standardized.

Some Suggestions

We need not reject the first language of any person, whether that language is a foreign tongue or non-standard English. We must leave his language alone while we learn as much about it as we can. Every person deserves respect for what is his own: his pride, his personality, his differences from others, his language. And a part of that respect must be a willingness to learn from him through learning to understand his language. Only then will he be willing to learn from us — and that includes learning our language. Only then can we show how necessary it is for him to learn standard English, to "dig all jive."

Most importantly, educators — especially classroom teachers — must be given opportunities to learn and to try out new approaches, techniques, and materials. And they must be encouraged to devise creative and innovative approaches of their own, and to try these out also. There is more latent creativity than we have yet uncovered among teachers.

The war on poverty must include a war on impoverished attitudes among educators and in self-righteous communities. For until we realize that standard English cannot be equated with intelligent and good and non-standard English with stupid and bad, there will continue to be real poverty of thinking. Until the self-righteous who have always spoken standard English, and the often even more self-righteous who have learned to do so, stop thinking of themselves as models who must be followed uncritically from the hell of dreadful language to the heaven of pedantic speech, this country will be deprived of the rich cultural heritage found among many users of non-standard English. For many of these people — and I include their children — have a pride that must not be destroyed by Miss Fidditch.

Some will be silent, except when they are among their own. These are often called slow, withdrawn, apathetic. Some will talk quite a lot. These are usually characterized as coarse, crude, vulgar. As long as educators use the worn old approaches, these people will either accept the image of themselves as bad, slow, vulgar or will reject it and the standard language. They'd rather fight than switch.

Edwin Sauer says:

> . . . the really serious language faults of our time are more likely to be heard in high places than in low. The gardener who says to his employer, 'I ain't got no room for them tulip bulbs,' will be understood. . . . But what can a reader do with a statement like this from a business letter written by a top industrial executive: "Gentlemen: In re your communication as to the expediency of our continued controls of merchandisable materials, may we state that, pursuant to many requests from patrons, we are endeavoring to expedite delivery of such materials along the line of equitable distribution.' "[7]

Surely this is as non-standard as the speech of the socially disadvantaged.

If language, then, is a status symbol, the socially disadvantaged lack status because they speak non-standard varieties of English. If they have rejected standard English they will continue to be socially disadvantaged. And social disadvantage leads to educational disadvantage. If, however, fresh approaches and techniques can be tried — and I must include the techniques used in teaching English as a second language — the socially disadvantaged may be seen in a different light and may be helped then to see themselves and the advantaged in new ways. Linguists say that Miss Fidditch — the linguistically ignorant teacher — should leave the language alone. I say that if some of the attitudes and approaches suggested here can be tried, the socially disadvantaged, in the unexpected pleasure and surprise of finding people who accept them and their language, may be willing to learn standard English. This may be one of the most important ways of breaking the terrible cycle of social and educational disadvantage — a cycle that dooms so many to lives of frustration, misery, illiteracy, and fruitless rage.

And the role of the teacher? Let me re-phrase Langston Hughes a bit, and say:

> We must play it cool and dig all jive
> In order to help keep our students alive.
> Our motto as we live and learn:
> To dig the kids and be dug in return.

1—Charles C. Fries, **American English Grammar,** Monograph No. 10 of the NCTE (New York: Appleton-Century, 1940) p. 13.

2—Jean Malmstrom, **Language in Society** (New York: Hayden Book Company, 1965) p. 15.

3—Donald Lloyd, "Sub-cultural Patterns Which Affect Language and Reading Development," **Language, Linguistics, and School Programs,** Proceedings of the Spring Institutes of the NCTE (1963) p. 53.

4—Jack R. Cameron, "Traditionalists, Textbooks, and Non-English Grammar," **Elementary English,** XLI, 145.

5—Gerald Weinstein, "Do You Dig All Jive?" Prepared for the Urban Teacher Preparation Program, Syracuse University.

6—Cameron, p. 146.

7—Edwin H. Sauer, **English in the Secondary School** (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964) pp. 37-38.

Foreign Language and Culture Through Film Courses

Elton Hocking
Purdue University

Our schools and colleges have been slow to accept the audio-visual materials and devices, and the humanities in particular have been reluctant, probably because of what has been called "the humanist's distrust of the machine." Yet it is generally agreed that, since most people are "eye-minded," a pictorial follow-up adds interest, and therefore motivation, to learning. Conversely, the presentation of the subject matter may be made first of all by pictures, in which case the sound track or the printed text serves as the reinforcement. In either case the multisensory presentation is more generally appealing and memorable than the monosensory.

Only since 1961 have we had **integrated** visuals: sequences of films, filmstrips, or slides which present the content and use the linguistic forms and constructions of the tape and the textbook. These systematic, multisensory materials for language learning are more sophisticated than the traditional, unrelated "audio-visual aids." The latter are frequently mere pictures of "realia," usually serving to arouse interest in a subject which is only peripheral to the course. Such occasional activities can be valuable in an incidental way, but they are not to be confused with the organized learning of language and culture.

The most recent, elaborate, and entertaining A-V course is "En France comme si vous y étiez," first broadcast by NBC in 1963-1964. Now a revised version for school use reduces the 26 half-hour films to 39 thirteen-minute segments. Deceptively entertaining at first glance, this course combines clever innovation with sure scholarship: vocabulary and structures from **Le français fondamental**, with frequent "re-entries" disguised by the different contexts but made memorable by subtle camera work.

This school edition of "En France comme si vous y étiez" is perhaps the most detailed and elaborate French course to be found.

American-produced A-V courses are also based on films or filmstrips — sometimes both. The first one of considerable scope was "Je Parle Français." There are 120 films (about ten minutes each, made in France) which serve as the very core of study. By the same producer is the more recent "La Familia Fernández," with 54 short (three-minutes) films and an equal number of filmstrips, laboratory tapes and test tapes, a manual for the teacher, and two books for the student. "Emilio en España," the second level of this course, has 27 longer (six-to-nine minutes) films, an equal number of filmstrips and tapes, two textbooks for the student, and a manual for the teacher.

Less elaborate and costly, using narrated film instead of lip-synchronized dialog, are the three film courses (three languages) produced by the Webster Division of the McGraw-Hill Company. Using filmstrips, tapes, and student study books, these courses provide a more systematic form of pattern practice than the others mentioned so far.

By far the most widely used TV program is "Parlons Français," with 150 fifteen-minute films featuring Anne Slack. This three-year program is an example of instructional TV at its best, for these reasons:

1. Graded linguistic materials prepared by experts
2. Presentation by a gifted and winsome teacher
3. Sophisticated repetition and drill disguised by dramatics, puppetry, and songs
4. Big-budget, professional production (at home and abroad)
5. Elaborate aids for local use: for the teacher, a detailed manual, practice discs, fifteen how-to-do-it films; for the children, practice discs and workbooks; for the school system, consultant services
6. A one-year trial program involving thousands of children after which the course was rewritten and the final filming was undertaken.

Many persons — schoolmen and linguists alike — urge that language is an inseparable part of the culture it represents, and that both should be taught together. Let me quote here from the excellent report on TV instruction by J. Richard Reid, published by the MLA:

> "In terms of means and ends there is a circular relation-

> ship. If our ultimate ends are intercultural insights and attitudes, a means is the language. An essential means to language learning is cultural insight. The two are not opposed but mutually complementary. . . .
>
> "Surely the cultural learnings for children may be even more important than — even the principal reason for — linguistic learning. The by-products may be more important than the language itself, as with history or literature or science."

More recent, and the only course intended for the intermediate and advanced levels (high school or college) is "Images de la France contemporaine." Thirty-two color filmstrips are synchronized with tape-recorded narration (followed by oral exercises); both are duplicated and amplified in the book. The cost of this course is moderate, for filmstrip is much cheaper than narrated movie film, which in turn is less costly than film with lip-synchronization.

All these courses are based on one essential premise: that the A-V components are not mere "aids;" the book is the "aid," while pictures and sound are the primary materials. Now we shall see some samples of these courses.

[At this point, a showing of films]

Before we see the last of our short films, let me say that the purpose of these integrated A-V courses is, first, to reinforce language learning by making it meaningful and memorable; second, to impart cultural understanding and insights which are valuable in themselves and which promote a favorable attitude on the part of the student; third, to provide some of the cultural heritage without which the foreign literature is frequently meaningless or misunderstood by our students.

Now, thanks to Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, we will conclude this program by a "sneak preview" of one of the short films from the very new course "Emilio en España." In fact, we'll see the only print that has yet been made of this lesson, but of course many more prints will be available in a few weeks.

[At this point, a further showing of films]

Don't Stop Now*

Kenneth W. Mildenberger
Director of Programs
Modern Language Association

I am indeed honored to be here before you on this important occasion, and I am happy to bring you the greetings of the headquarters office of the Modern Language Association. You have had a long and crowded day, and some of you have traveled long hours to be here; therefore I shall limit myself to several matters which I believe might be mentioned.

This is a most uncommon gathering, indeed, a marvelous phenomenon. All kinds of undercurrents flow here. I know of no precedent elsewhere in the United States. This is the **second** Southern Conference On Language Teaching. I understand that there were many who thought that the announcement of the **first** Southern Conference was a brash and futile action; yet the throngs of teachers who came last year testified to its timeliness. The remarkable response to the second conference should establish once and for all that a need exists in the South for this kind of enterprise and that it should be an annual affair.

I confess that I find much personal satisfaction in this occasion. In the past ten years the field of modern foreign language teaching has made tremendous progress toward true professionalism. With Federal aid for summer institutes and for language laboratories and state supervisory services, with all kinds of new teaching materials available, and with booming interest and enrollments in foreign languages, I have sometimes feared that language teachers might become complacent and indifferent in their new prosperity. Some have. But you Southerners, by your presence here at this convention, demonstrate a spirit of professionalism that is most reassuring and promises well for the continued improvement of language teaching. Indeed, I am humbled and awed by all of this. Let me say that I am especially moved by the presence of so many young people; above all, this is **your** conference; don't let them beat you down.

Considering that this is a regional conference, a notable characteristic is the presence of guests from many parts of the nation. The

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*** This chapter was the banquet address on Friday, February 4, 1966.**

program lists persons from such places as California, Wisconsin, New York, Indiana, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and the District of Columbia, and I see friends here from other states. I have never encountered a regional meeting with so many participants — distinguished or otherwise — from outside the region. Indeed, I suspect that the tireless and imaginative chairman of the conference, Louis Chatagnier of Emory University, has sometimes been quite puckish in his arrangements. Surely he was diabolical, linguistically, when this afternoon he brought together before this Southern audience a Midwest German, Bob Roeming, with his Milwaukee accents, and a Yankee Canuck from New Hampshire, my colleague Andy Paquette, with his broad "a's," to give you issues and answers. I don't know whether any issues were solved, but at least you've had a fine opportunity to observe the juxtaposition of exotic American dialects.

In any event, I do believe that a significant strength of this conference is the calculated inclusion of participants from outside the South. This makes clear that the meeting is conceived, not as a parochial paper-reading marathon for local persons, but as an honest inquiry into new developments in the field. I suggest too that the willingness of persons from other parts of the country to invest time and travel in this occasion demonstrates a universal wish to make the idea of this Southern Conference a success. I know how very busy are such people as Pierre Delattre, Wilmarth Starr, and Elton Hocking. Permit me to insist that the presence here of speakers from other parts of the country is by no means patronizing. Your professional problems are the same problems in other regions. Your colleagues there share the same concerns and needs as you do. The visiting speakers would eagerly participate in groups in any part of the nation, including their own — and many of them have, on frequent occasions. Indeed, this Southern forum may very well begin to attract colleagues from all over the nation — to find out what is happening — because the truth is that we lack a national forum for professional exchange today. But that is another problem, which I intend to discuss elsewhere soon.

Now, perhaps the most unwise thing a man can do is to give advice, for he may seem foolishly obvious — like Polonius — or he may tread on toes, or he may be just plain wrong. Nevertheless, I shall dare to make some suggestions to you because I should like to see this conference become a regular annual activity.

First, I urge the appointment of an appropriate person as Historian of the Southern Conference. This idea may appear premature.

But you see, I possess a strong personal belief that the Conference will indeed become permanent. By the time in the future when that fact is realized, much vital history of the origins and early meetings may be lost or incompletely remembered. A development that is so significant should be carefully recorded. I suspect we shall all want to read that complete record nine or ten years from now.

Second, if this annual conference is, over the years, to be properly planned and effectively implemented, it requires the assurance of substantial annual funds. It should not depend alone upon the fees of registered participants. One severe February storm could ruin this meeting. The stewards of the Southern Conference might investigate the financial plan of the Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. Regional educational institutions — state departments of education, state language associations, school systems, institutions of higher education — are annually invited to provide a contribution to the costs of the Conference. If the contribution is $25 or more, the institution or organization may designate an official representative who becomes a member of the Advisory Council of the Conference. The response in the Northeast has been overwhelming. But I suspect that Southern institutions could exceed the Northeast. With regular funds in hand, the conference could support a working secretariat and plan the details of meetings well in advance.

Next, allow me to re-emphasize the established nature of this meeting. It is a **conference,** quite unlike the normal annual meeting of an association. You are conferees, come to learn, to share, to discuss. To confer is to compare views or opinions, and a spirit of complete professional equality is implied. The spirit of conference is a precious thing, and I hope you can develop it and protect it.

Then, I would plead with you to consider the inclusion of teachers of Latin in your conference. You have a good deal more in common with Latin teachers than you may believe. The tradition of Latin study is strong in the South. Do at least consider sharing this conference opportunity with those close colleagues.

In the same vein, I ask you to remember that if man does not live by bread alone, neither should he subsist in the language class solely on pattern drills. We need to learn a great deal about teaching literature and culture in our language classrooms, and I commend this as a topic for future study at the Southern Conference. Linguistic science and modern technology should not be allowed to diminish our spiritual unity as humanists. I cannot let pass this moment without reminding you that the Congress of the United States, after enacting an amazing succession of legislation for Federal financing of building construction, equipment, student assistance, and research, saw fit to broaden the horizon of Federal concern by creating an Endowment for the Humanities because, in the words of the legislation, "democracy demands wisdom and vision in its citizens and . . . it must therefore foster and support a form of education designed to make men masters of their technology and not its unthinking servants." You surely have a happy responsibility here.

Well, I have been very bold in offering you advice, and you may be saying to yourself, it's all very fine for him — tomorrow he'll fly out of Atlanta and leave us to carry on. Not so, unless you will it. The Southern Conference On Language Teaching is, in its conception, its mood, its voluntary exuberance, a blood brother to the MLA Foreign Language Program that began in 1952 when language teaching was at rock bottom. We fervently want your idea to succeed. To this end, the Executive Secretary of the Modern Language Association, John Hurt Fisher, has authorized me to invite the Southern Conference Steering Committee to appoint two persons who will come to New York on April 1-2 to observe the operation of the Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, as guests of the Modern Language Association. I do not mean to suggest that the Northeast Conference is an ideal model for the South. But by observation, the Southern Conference Steering Committee may discover some procedures to be avoided as well as some to be imitated.

I believe that the Modern Language Association can help you and this annual conference in a variety of ways, if you wish. But the MLA has no desire to intrude, even if it could — which is unlikely. However, since 1952 the MLA Foreign Language Program has been a fundamental force for sound progress in the teaching of modern languages and literatures, and its only purpose is to be a galvanizing agent. If I did not believe this, I would not have left an interesting and satisfying position in the Federal Government to rejoin you, my fellow conferees, in the private sector.

I salute you for coming to this conference, and I urge you to persuade your colleagues to come with you next year. Nothing in our kind of society has ever prospered without sincere grass roots support. And this I see all around me here at the second Southern Conference On Language Teaching — earnest searching for the truth by you on the firing line — the teachers.

The Status of FLES: Present and Future

Anne Slack
Modern Language Project

So much has been said and written about FLES in the past 10 or 12 years by eminent educators and writers, that it would have been truly presumptuous of me to attempt a new speech in my non-native English on a subject now familiar to everybody in the field of foreign language teaching, and of general education. What I would like to do, rather, is a sort of "mise au point" as to the present and future status of FLES.

Some years ago, when FLES was still fighting for recognition from school administrators, many of us thoroughly enjoyed and repeated with delight the following **true** story:

> A school superintendent was being harassed by parents who wanted their children to learn a foreign language in the grades. Finally, one day, he found **the** argument against such a novelty. "What's all this new business," he said, "about our American children learning other languages? If English was good enough for Jesus Christ, it's certainly good enough for me!"

Little by little since that period in the Dark Ages the movement made converts and then, one day, partly because of Sputnik, we found ourselves in the golden age of FLES. Every school system had, or wanted to have, a FLES program!

We all acknowledged of course the many dangers of such a rapid growth, and know that too often, to use a joke of the time, "the spirit was willing, but the FLES was weak!" But at long last, the **need** for FLES was being recognized, we were on our way, and we were going, in time, to make FLES strong and live up to its expectations.

Let us now look at FLES today.

Professor Jacob Ornstein, Georgetown University, tells in a recent article of the "rosy publicity on FLES in newspapers, magazines, radio and television" and continues:

> "No educational subject has ever received more favorable treatment by our public media. Small wonder then that parents and the general public should have expected great things from FLES. These have simply not been forthcoming."

The Florida FL Reporter, fall of 1965, states in its Editorial:

> "This issue is devoted chiefly to FLES. We of the FLORIDA FL REPORTER see Foreign Language in the Elementary school as the **key** to the success or failure of the future FL Program of America."

This particular publication contains no less than seven major articles on FLES written by concerned leaders in the field of foreign language education.

The **French Review**, of February 1965 (to mention only one particular issue), contained twelve major articles, three of them devoted to FLES, while a recent article in HISPANIA, titled "Needed — A Survival Kit for Fles," pleads that a cold, hard look be taken at FLES.

These are only a few examples of what has been published recently about FLES, its issues and problems.

What strikes me in reading these and other FLES articles is that, well-written, sincere, and **needed** as they are to keep the profession informed, they are not expressing anything significantly different about FLES objectives, methods and techniques than what was already expressed more than 10 years ago. Let's take as an example the MLA Guide, "Beginning French in Grade Three," published in **1955**, the very first of such guides in any language sponsored by the MLA, with our old friend Ken Mildenberger as editorial supervisor. I would like to read to you some short excerpts from the "Introduction."

> The guiding principle (of this Guide) is the teaching of **real French in a real situation** . . . In practice, **frequent** short periods have proved more effective than longer sessions at widely-spaced intervals . . . a 15 to 20 minute period **5 times a week is urged** . . . The central focus throughout has been a **living situation** which the pupil can understand, identify himself with, and talk about. The situation has determined the words and linguistic patterns to be learned, but at all

> stages these have been carefully controlled with regard to difficulty, sequence, and quantity . . .
>
> **Aural-oral approach.** This course of study develops the pupil's ability to play the part of both hearer and speaker in the normal interchange of spoken language; the ability to read and write has been deliberately set aside for later training. . . .
>
> While this guide does not aspire to acquaint the child with an extensive vocabulary as such, it does introduce some of the most essential patterns of speech occurring in spoken French. The great problem of language learning is the acquisition of speech patterns rather than the acquisition of **words** . . .
>
> **Cultural objectives.** One of the primary purposes of the teaching of a second language in the grade school and one of its main contributions to the child's total growth is the development of broad-minded attitudes and the breakdown of monocultural orientation.
>
> Language itself presents a form of cultural pattern, and the active, natural use of a foreign language is, therefore, **participation** in a cultural pattern different from one's own . . .

This document, the Northeast Conference Reports, and a number of other publications of the same period, express almost word for word, as you could easily recognize, today's FLES gospel. Yet all were written at a time when the foreign language profession almost as a whole smiled benignly and shrugged its shoulders at the few visionaries who believed in early foreign language instruction, without grammar, reading, and translation! They were written at a time when the word FLES itself had not even been invented! I am quite sure it was Ken Mildenberger who coined the word, during one of those week-end work-sessions in the glorified basement of 6 Washington Square North which housed the headquarters of the MLA. I remember that in the euphoria of the pioneering days, someone even went so far as to suggest, half-kiddingly, that we should have labels for each language taught in FLES, such as FRES (French in the Elementary School), SPES (Spanish in the Elementary School), GES (German in the Elementary School), etc. I am sure that at the time, although all involved were concerned about the problems inherent to FLES, no one thought that FRES, SPES, GES, and FLES, could also rhyme with . . . MESS!

In all honesty, though, why should we have anticipated any major disasters? Weren't our objectives, and recommended techniques, honest, sound, realistic, "valable" to use a term of modern French? Certainly, as pointed out just a moment ago, they did not differ from those expressed now in reputable publications and courses of study nor, for that matter, in the number — or should I say the plethora — of so-called audio-lingual, fool-proof, cure-it-all FLES manuals, television lessons, and "programmed" courses existing in our country today?

Since we seemed already to "have the answers" so many years ago, had clearly stated the issues, anticipated the major problems, and therefore held the key to a reasonable success in FLES, why the often-justified disenchantment about FLES today? Where did we go wrong?

Professor William R. Parker, former Director of the Foreign Language Program of the MLA, in an article entitled: "Foreign Languages in the Grades: A Caution," had an answer for us back in 1957. I quote:

> As director of the Foreign Language Program of the Modern Language Association of America, I want to caution enthusiastic parents, administrators, and foreign language instructors that we shall defeat our purposes if we do not restrict the growth of this educational trend to the supply of adequately prepared teachers.
>
> This is not a plea for language specialists in the elementary schools. Let local school administrators decide whether language instruction should come from "visitors" or from regular classroom teachers. Our plea — and we think it a reasonable one — is that it come from persons who not only understand elementary school children but who also understand and speak the foreign language.
>
> Nor is our problem going to be solved by importing boatloads of Frenchmen or Germans who have never taught young children. It must be solved by recruiting qualified

elementary school teachers who already have the language proficiency; by training many others to do the job as the present state of the world demands it be done; and hence, with the help of forward-looking administrators, by encouraging prospective teachers to seek this new kind of training.

It seems to me we are entitled to ask the following questions: Where are the "qualified elementary school teachers with language proficiency" we were begging for 10 years ago and had the right to expect today? What have the forward-looking administrators at all levels, from elementary school to college, done to really support FLES? What has the foreign language teaching profession itself done for years but criticize FLES and complain high and loud that the FLES students who came to them in the 7th grade "knew nothing," because indeed these children could not conjugate irregular verbs or read some fascinating paragraph about "la plume de ma tante?"

I believe that, in too many cases during all those years, the teaching profession has been unprofessional. Permit me to give my reasons for this "J'accuse"!

One. As we well know, in many institutions of higher learning, the Department of Education and the Department of Modern Foreign Languages "don't speak to each other"! The professors of Education teach "pedagese," the foreign language professors the "belles lettres." Very few universities have been willing to combine forces and to produce elementary school teachers with a language proficiency.

Two. In spite of repeated warnings in pedagogical publications, administrators have engaged in FLES programs simply to jump on the bandwagon, and without giving real thought to the meaning, implications, demands, and responsibilities of such a program.

Three. Too many Foreign Language teachers engaged in FLES programs have only given **lip-service** to teaching through meaningful and authentic situations, to audio-lingual objectives, to the serious practice of pattern drills, to the rigorous control of structures, and to re-entry of those structures. Instead they have "devised" their own course of study based on how many **words** their students could recite as a litany at the next PTA presentation in front of beaming parents!

Four. During the past 10 to 15 years, dozens of FLES television programs were born — many fortunately also died! — sponsored by school-systems and naive administrators who believed that a native speaker of the language in front of the cameras — very often with no teaching experience and no planned course of study — was all that was needed to create a FLES program. Or, when a serious, well-planned program of televised instruction was offered, the FLES program **itself** often consisted — and still consists in many places — of turning on a TV set at 9:15 and turning it off a 9:30 twice a week!

With "friends" such as these unprofessional professionals, FLES certainly didn't need enemies to do it harm, to spread skepticism among educators and parents, to undermine the whole structure of foreign language instruction in our schools, and to justify the shifting of funds earmarked for foreign languages to more "worthwhile" academic pursuits.

It is indeed time we take a cold, hard look at FLES and point out, not how it will fail — we know too well how that can happen — but how it can succeed and will succeed, given a chance.

We don't need to re-state the reasons — educational, sociological, neurological, psychological — why foreign languages belong in the elementary schools. But let us re-state as briefly as possible the main ingredients of a **real** FLES program. Although, for the sake of clarity, they are labeled 1, 2, 3, etc., these ingredients are all equally important.

Ingredient No. 1 — Linguistic Quality

The course of instruction, whether "live" or by TV and films, must be of high linguistic quality, with the content and re-entry pattern carefully controlled.

I know of a FLES-TV program in a large eastern metropolitan area where an educator blithely suggested that a whole year course of study be "whipped up" in a few Saturday morning work-sessions by a couple of specialists. There are quite a few of these "ready-whip" FLES programs in our country today, as I am sure many of you know.

I suggest that the profession, the MLA, and other educational organizations, study and publish lists of **good** FLES materials, and let the axe fall where it may.

Ingredient No. 2 — Cultural Quality

The course of instruction, whether "live" or by TV and films, must be of high cultural quality, the language being taught always in authentic situations.

Parents and administrators — and of course teachers! — **must** be made to understand that the learning of a foreign language in authentic situations will eliminate such "cute" class activities as celebrating Hallowe'en in French, Thanksgiving in German, reciting the pledge of allegiance to the flag of the United States in Spanish, or any other a-cultural crime committed in the name of "integration of the FLES program into the elementary school curriculum." If we want to raise our children with the idea that all children the world over behave like American children, although expressing themselves in a different code, you know and I know that we are succeeding beyond all hopes in some areas of this country thanks to some so-called FLES programs. Is that how we prepose to develop broad-minded attitudes and break down monocultural orientation?

Ingredient No. 3 — Practice Sessions

Enough time must be allotted every day **during** the school day (and **not** after school hours) for adequate practice of the language.

In a large metropolitan area of the south, only 20 minutes a **week** are authorized for FLES follow-up, in addition to the 30 minutes of weekly televised instruction. Total: 50 minutes for FLES instruction, not even one hour a week!

Last spring I had a chance to visit many classes using our **Parlons Français** program in England. Crowded, old school buildings, classes of 45 children, overworked teachers, but French in grades four through six **30 minutes** every day. Needless to say, the children knew all the course content. How do they do it? They go to school until 4:00 o'clock every day, **and** French is as important in the curriculum as the three R's!

Ingredient No. 4 — Teachers

Experienced teachers with adequate knowledge of the language must conduct the lessons, or in the case of televised instruction, the classroom follow-up.

These teachers should be competent specialists who are familiar with audio-lingual techniques and with the philosophy of the American elementary school. This applies particularly to the use of native speakers, often charming and full of good intentions, but who don't know how to teach their language.

Since, however, there are not enough competent foreign language specialists to staff adequately **even our secondary schools**, it is obvious that FLES instruction is, and will become, more and more the responsibility of the classroom teacher. Contrary to the opinion held by some purists, there is plenty of evidence that the conscientious classroom teacher, who follows a good TV or filmed program supplemented by other audio-visual aids, **can** be trained to do a creditable job of follow-up. I could mention dozens and dozens of examples if time permitted. I will only describe one as briefly as possible.

In a university town in Canada all grades four through six study French through **Parlons Français** on TV. The follow-up lessons are conducted by classroom teachers under the supervision of two specialists who visit classes regularly and coordinate the program. All teachers attend for one year **two** 2-hour weekly workshops at the local university for which they receive college credit. During those four-hour workshops each week they view four **Parlons Français** films, practice the content with the **Parlons Français** teacher guides and records, work in the language lab, discuss and prepare some of the props and visuals needed for the implementation of the filmed lessons. They also view and discuss the **Parlons Français** teacher preparation films, take turns at teaching their own group as if they were their fourth, fifth, or sixth grades, in brief prepare themselves to take over the follow-up. In the Experimental Year III test administered last spring to 13 communities in the U. S. and Canada this community scored at the top in all three parts of the test: listening comprehension, sound recognition and sentence completion. Incidentally, this was a test of about one hour, devised by us at the Modern Language Project and reviewed by Educational Testing Service.

Ingredient No. 5 — Continuity

Some educators advocate a language program three through 12, or no FLES at all. Many others — and I am one of them — strongly believe that a good, significant FLES experience has value in itself, even if it has to be interrupted after the sixth grade. Please note the specifications: **good** and **significant**; that excludes song and dance acts! This is especially true for the slower learner, who may never be exposed to foreign languages at the secondary level. However, a system starting a FLES program **should** plan for articulation into the junior high school for students able to continue the language study, and **should** prepare a program where the FLES graduates are not "lumped together" with those beginning language instruction in the seventh grade.

Ingredient No. 6 — Evaluation and Testing

In many FLES situations, the only "proof" of achievement is still the glorious end-of-the-year French production for the P.T.A.! School systems **should** regularly evaluate the achievement of their FLES classes by the use of reliable tests. The results of these tests don't need to — and in the opinion of most educators should not — appear on the students' report cards.

These are, as expressed so many times during the past decade, some of the main requisites for a successful FLES program. In spite of some of the negative statements we hear about FLES today, in spite of the publicity given to programs which have collapsed, **there are** many successful FLES programs in our country today.

As I speak of "collapse" and "success," I cannot help but think of the too-often forgotten remark by Commissioner McGrath when, in 1953, he made his historic plea for foreign language instruction in the elementary grades. His remark was: ". . . Personally I would much prefer to attain an imperfect success rather than a perfect failure." Thirteen years later, as we see example of good FLES practices, we certainly have the right to say that FLES has **not** been a failure. But we certainly also have to recognize that it has not been a perfect success, and we already know some of the reasons for this.

What we also know, but seem to forget when we talk about FLES, is that nothing is 100 per cent perfect. Is there any field of endeavor, educational, social, economic, etc., where total success is ever achieved? Can Johnny read better today than he did twenty, ten, five years ago? Is the teaching of English in our country 100 per cent successful? To narrow it down to the foreign language program only, can we honestly say that all our high schools are staffed with native, or near-native, competent foreign language teachers, and are turning out a significant percentage of students proficient in languages?

Yet we have taught for generations, and will of course continue to teach, English, foreign languages, and other disciplines as best we can, and we have learned to be thankful for small gains here and there. We **must** give FLES the same chance. Not only the chance it has already had to get started and to feel its way, but also the chance to learn from its mistakes, to do some "house-cleaning," to start again on a realistic, honest, mature basis, and, with **time,** to prove its worth. Even then, years and years from now, we know it will not, it could not, be **perfect everywhere.** It will be, it could be, good, healthy, enriching in a great many places . . . just like anything worthwhile we teach in our schools.

Let us remember the warning so clearly stated in the Editorial quoted earlier: "We of the **Florida FL Reporter** see Foreign Languages in the Elementary School as the **key** to the success or failure of the future FL program of America."

I would like to end on a quotation from the best-seller by Morris West, **The Shoes of the Fisherman.** As you know, the book is about a newly elected Pope facing the responsibilities and decisions of his high office. His cardinals and bishops come to him with pleas and suggestions. As I read the following lines, I could not help but establish a parallel with our situation regarding foreign languages, nor could I help realize that even the old, the wise, and the mighty have to accept honest compromises for the good of the cause. I quote Morris West:

> . . . If this revolution is successful — and with the support of other African nations there is reason to believe it will be — then it may well be the end of Christianity for a hundred years in the southern continent of Africa. We are training catechists as fast as we can, but we cannot hope to train even a minimal number of native priests in the time at our disposal. I know that this may well seem a revolutionary suggestion, but I ask myself whether we should not consider very seriously a new programme of training in which the whole liturgy will be celebrated in the vernacular. If this course were approved it might be possible to train a native clergy in about half the time it takes now to train them under the system laid down by the Council of Trent.
>
> I understand very well that this would mean a clergy less well educated than that in other lands, but the question **is** whether we shall have such a clergy, preaching the Word and dispensing the Sacraments validly and religiously, or whether we shall have no clergy at all. . . ."

Planning A County System Foreign Language Teaching Program

Elizabeth F. Boone
Dade County (Florida) Schools

Let me say first that these few remarks are not meant to be a formal speech, but as our friends in the Schools of Education say, a sharing of experiences.

A quick glance at the area to be served made us realize that the first and greatest problem facing a **good** foreign language program in the community was the very size of the system and the numbers of young people affected. A secondary program encompassing 60 buildings, grades 7-12 with 25,000+ young people is a serious responsibility.

Our goal is one, but with a variation of interpretation according to the God-given abilities of the young people, the skill of the teacher, and the length of time they spend studying a second language. At a minimum we hope to produce young Americans who have a sympathetic understanding for people who are "different," and at a maximum, produce young Americans who can communicate orally with people who are "different."

Assuming that a well-planned curriculum is available, the implementation of this program will be as successful as the organizational framework within which it works and the articulation from individual teacher clear through top administrator will permit.

The entire foreign language program in Dade County is theoretically from grades three through twelve. In philosophy, methodology, and organization there is perfect coordination between the FLES and secondary curriculums. FLES employs as basic to its program the original MLA elementary dialogs. Structure drills and narratives which do not violate any principles of good language learning have been added. (Grades one and two offer a readiness program using the "Hear, Repeat, Speak" materials.) The radio and television programs are planned by an instructional team under the leadership of the elementary coordinator, and are sound. The staff is composed of a native speaker of Spanish, a foreign language teacher, a radio teacher, the producer-director, and the coordinator who is doing a fine job of leading.

In all honesty it must be said that in reality at this moment the elementary foreign language instruction is worthy of recognition in only a small percentage of the 155 schools. This group of schools has trained **language** teachers, knows **how** to use materials, and sincerely follows the planned program. Why is this group so small? Administrative procedures prohibit any further expansion at this time, but we are constantly working on it.

The secondary program offers Spanish to all seventh grade students. There is one exception. If there is in a school a percentage of excessively retarded readers who must be given a heavy dosage of instruction in English, they are generally taken from the Spanish class and given more English. The time given for the foreign language period averages twenty minutes daily. Each school is an entity unto itself, but we constantly insist that the school's master schedule make available consistent small time blocks for foreign language instruction. The curriculum is composed of the beginning lessons of the materials used in the regular program. If at the termination of the seventh grade the child elects what is called Spanish I, the program is a continuation of the same set of materials. We hope that at this eighth grade level the student will be of a high caliber and the kind who will pursue his language study for five years. If he is not, we advise that he wait until later. Level IV Spanish, French, and German are offered in the majority of the twenty senior highs.

As any curriculum moves toward new goals, an intensive program of reeducation must be undertaken. Reeducation is most obviously needed in the area of teachers with years of service. In addition to encouraging strongly attendance at NDEA Institutes, the need has been met and is constantly being met by offering workshops and in-service classes led by persons of national repute, inviting equally knowledgeable persons as guest speakers, showing repeatedly the few available film series on language, linguistics, and language teaching. Other activities found to be most profitable are these:

(1) Outstanding teachers were named and arrangements made for them to serve as demonstration teachers for obser-

vation and visitation. Principals cooperated by making it possible for teachers to be excused to visit these classes.

(2) The supervisor often took classes in order to free a teacher to make a visitation.

(3) TV demonstratiton classes and interviews were shown.

(4) The supervisor often taught the classes visited in order to show **how** to students, teachers and principals, and, in some instances, to prove the value of a procedure. When the desired reaction by the student could be seen, who could possibly offer any objection?

Finally, there must be education of the parents and public in order to have them understand, support and encourage the program. Some projects we have undertaken are:

(1) explanatory letters written in language lacking "educationese," setting forth the new goals, materials, techniques used, and the expected reaction and participation of the student;

(2) open house during a school day so that parents might observe what is being done;

(3) entire class demonstrations for the principals;

(4) demonstrations using the audience as the class;

(5) a demonstration class in a corner window of a downtown store during National Education Week with sound piped onto the street;

(6) conducting tours to successful classes for persons of influence who did not know but should know something of the "new" procedure;

(7) an explanation-demonstration session sponsored by the school board for the public.

The big problems in foreign language education have been ever with us and vary in degree and kind as changes occur in the personnel involved. Again, we must refer to the average teacher. His unawareness of the contributions of linguistics and the principles of learning is appalling, to say the least. There are many explanations for this, but let us say that no educator today, in any field, is worth being called such if he remains unaware, if he remains satisfied with status quo. If we are not on our own aware of education's failures up to this point and not sincerely endeavoring to change those conditions, then surely the impact of outside criticism has penetrated to some degree!

These aforementioned conditions have resulted in many cases in ineffectual teaching. This great big problem has failed to produce Americans with an understanding of foreign cultures and foreign languages. The teaching was poor, the curriculum was not sequential, and the presentations were not articulated. Many of these problems still are with us and provide the greatest number of stumbling blocks for teachers and administrators. How can we get makers of master schedules to be willing to break away from hard-bound traditions of so many students per teacher for so many "holy" minutes? How can we penetrate the shocking wall of ignorance, even prejudices, of those who counsel? How can we get teachers to accept procedures which are producing desired results rather than to stick to what they like just because "they don't believe in the procedures?" How can we get teachers to see there is sometimes a broad gap between what they think they teach and what they teach? How can we improve testing so that classroom tests really measure what has been taught? Oh, sure, we have **many** answers, but we cannot often implement them. It is a constant battle of observation, criticism, discussion, conference, reference, etc. The tragic part is that while foreign language education muddles around, youngsters — and maybe a world — are being lost.

Finally, the big problem we all face together — the institutions of higher learning. Some would seem to be moving backward instead of forward. Thank goodness, there are exceptions, but we must say that the majority is not meeting the challenge. It would appear that in some cases they are more adamant in enjoying status quo than some of our fellow workers.

A few of the actions we've taken toward the lessening of the previously mentioned problems are these:

A. Reaffirmed our general goals to **everyone,** especially involving decision-making administrators, while

   1. explaining the difference between language and non-language;
   2. clarifying that audio-lingual (a term well known but referring to only two skills) is describing the approach, not the method;

that the multiple skills of listening, speaking, reading, writing are taught in a complete four-year program;

B. Specified each year the goals in terms of content taught (keeping constant check on the progress of the classes);

C. Consistently encouraged and arranged intervisitation and demonstrations;

D. Cooperated with and even initiated as far as possible involvement with the intern program;

E. Relieved wherein possible problems of the teachers by

1. providing for development of guides, acetates or any such extras which could be made locally;
2. offering courses to strengthen the weaknesses of the teachers;
3. encouraging and making use of the MLA Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students;

F. Provided as good a physical teaching situation as possible in

1. talking, explaining, and even screaming as to the necessity of eliminating noise factors adjacent to a foreign language classroom;
2. drawing up definite plans for architects and engineers for schools yet to be built;

G. Became involved, when permitted, in interviewing prospective teachers;

H. Constantly reviewed and questioned, and I might add, won victories over such antiquated regulations as

1. impossibility of hiring part-time teachers;
2. undesirable local credit and certification problems;

I. Led principals into thinking of ways of flexible or fluid schedules by

1. grouping;
2. explanatory statements of the program attached to permanents;
3. team teaching;
4. sharing of teachers among buildings;

J. Planned, written out, and demonstrated techniques of leading students into real language manipulation;

K. Encouraged and participated in every type of articulation meeting — between schools, between schools and colleges, served on committees for this, etc.

And what of tomorrow? With so many problems facing us, plus the national emphasis shifting its great influence to the area of reading, and the reviving of the old idea that "foreign language is a frill," we sometimes feel the fight is futile. What do we project for next year and the next? We want a foreign language program honestly based on what the student knows, not how many months he has warmed a chair. This means individual progress at his own rate of speed. We want flexible scheduling to provide more use of laboratory equipment, double class sessions for some, more small-group work for others. We want more sound teaching so that students can manipulate out of context dialog lines and structures they have learned. We want secondary fifth-year classes that are really sound, not the kind that just sound impressive. We want to teach other skill subjects such as typing, in Spanish. We want and are planning now a summer institute for teachers of levels 3 and 4. We want a foreign language project to prove our firm conviction that the culturally deprived deserve and can profit by such an opportunity. We want a real articulated curriculum, grades 3-12, and we plan to write the guide this summer for the FLES graduates. In fact, we want so much for young people, and we want nothing that cannot be realized. It is not easy. At times the doors all around close; the task becomes impossible. But we won't give up.

Foreign Language Teaching and the School Administrator

Ruth Keaton
Georgia State Department of Education

You administrators have been made to think big by the varied possibilities of funds and projects supported by NDEA and ESEA titles. Then you were faced with the necessity of scheduling carefully for a long, strong sequence of foreign language study. My aim is to show you how to begin immediately, on Monday, to meet all these high-flown goals you have heard discussed at this conference.

Number One on your list is to capitalize on the growing enthusiasm of your FL teachers to form a language department in your school that is not just in name only. Regular meetings, scheduled perhaps once per month, should be effective sessions for in-service training. Appointing the best available chairman is the principal's biggest task. He must name the person who will be responsible directly to him. The choice must not be made on seniority, but rather on these factors: 1. experience, 2. N.D.E.A. institute training or recent FL methodology courses, 3. respect of colleagues, 4. actual ability in a foreign language, and 5. a cooperative, progressive, productive attitude. Pay the chairman something extra. This is to make him know that the position means work beyond his regular load, not an honorary title. Teachers must feel free to call on him without feeling that they are imposing. Require that a report of each meeting be handed in to you and filed in the department. This businesslike procedure assures that something definite will be accomplished since no one wishes to write up a failure; it will also serve as a reference for subjects discussed and others needing follow-up.

Number Two is to encourage all FL teachers to develop initiative. Recommendations in their field should rise from them, not be handed down from the top of the administrative heap. The teachers themselves must do the actual work; therefore, they should plan it. They will meet the challenge gladly if they know you are depending on them. Such order inspires work beyond the call of duty. Administrative mandates without teacher considerations, too often the situation, especially in large systems, absolutely destroy the very qualities necessary for good instruction. Remember that curriculum directors, principals, and superintendents **cannot** build a strong foreign language program. They are literally and linguistically incapable even if they could devote 100 per cent of their time to it. Their duty is to approve the department's plans on the basis of operating expenses and scope of the total school program.

Number Three for you administrators is to establish a line of communication. You work directly with your own department. Have the chairman in constant contact with a county chairman, or, better still, a county foreign language coordinator. See that the state consultants are invited to review the department's efforts. These specialists can with their broad experience foresee problems and suggest directions for smooth development. They can guide in choosing electronic facilities and audio-lingual materials, extending sequence, evolving articulation between junior and senior high schools, installing a FLES program. They can supply resources for the school's self-evaluation and for needed in-service training studies. Count them in because they were hired to serve you.

These are the steps to progress, not next year or in the distant future. They are Monday's reality. Put that right foot forward now!

The Teacher and The Administrator: Competition or Cooperation?

Elisabeth G. Epting
Converse College

Because the classroom learning (and teaching) of a foreign language has a kind of competition from which all other subjects are exempt, this activity has a very special need for your understanding cooperation.

With 30 pupils per teacher at 30 minutes per day (this is about all that can be counted on in many schools today), each pupil would hopefully get one minute per day, five minutes per week, 75 minutes per semester, 150 minutes per year, or two and one-half hours per year of foreign language practice **in an all English community**, whereas the native language learner usually gets his language at the rate of one pupil with two or more "teachers" in his home, plus thousands of compatriots outside the home. The native language learner gets a minimum of 12 hours per day, seven days per week, or 84 hours per week, and he cannot escape from it. Compare this 84 hours per week with 75 minutes per semester for the foreign language learner in a classroom. With this shocking disparity of learning time we might be amazed that any person ever learns a foreign language in a classroom, but they do. As administrators, could you arrange time to talk with the foreign language staff to learn (to help them learn more) and to understand something of the nature of language and of language learning and the consequent implications for classroom teaching of a foreign language? This teaching **is** entirely different and its problems **are** different from those of any other subject matter area in the curriculum.

As administrators you are, of course, ultimately responsible for all aspects of the school or schools under your jurisdiction. I'd like to suggest some ideas, attitudes, actions — things for which foreign language teachers are utterly dependent on you. Not many of you can teach — or even speak — a foreign language. You aren't expected to. But there are many things you do — or don't do — that determine whether foreign language teaching in your classrooms will succeed or fail.

Because time is short I will just list them and ask you to question or discuss any of these points as we go along.

1) Reponsibility in scheduling the number of sections per day per teacher.

2) Homogeneous sections (not a mixture of many different levels of pupil proficiency and achievement in one section)

3) A teacher must be assigned to teach a foreign language in which he is competent, not just any foreign language. In other words, if the teacher is trained to speak French, insist that it be French she teaches, not Spanish or some other language in which she may have had one or two "grammar-bound" courses. MLA Proficiency Tests are being used in a number of states to help determine teacher proficiency in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing a given foreign language.

4) The sequencing of foreign language study. As a preface, let me say **no more foreign language sampling.** By that, I mean no more so-called exploratory courses. The pupil who is totally ignorant of any foreign language has no right to make a decision which one he will be taught. After all, he learned whatever language he uses because the people in the community where he was born happened to use that language. If, at present, you have only a two-year sequence of two foreign languages, drop one of the foreign languages at once and begin a four-year sequence of one foreign language. As a minimum, the profession generally feels that a six-year sequence at the secondary school level is not only desirable, but feasible.

As administrators, work with your foreign language department to establish fixed entry points (which would, thereby, indicate the drop-out points). This is especially urgent if there is a FLES program, a junior high school program, and a senior high school program. As administrators, and here I obviously include counselors, it is largely up to you to maintain these entry points. Articulation within the foreign language program must be vertical, that is from one level to the next level, both above and below. It must also be horizontal. By horizontal articulation, I mean that pupils at a given level in every school within the system should have approximately the same training.

5) The counselors' role: I make a special point of this. The counselor should understand something about foreign language learning or at least accept advice from the foreign language profession. If the counselor himself has never mastered a foreign language, it seems the only sensible thing to do, doesn't it, rather than to give the youngster inaccurate or unwise advice?

6) The administration should insist that the foreign language department accept the responsibility for recommending:
   a) What equipment, materials, and facilities are needed;
   b) The selection of equipment and material to be purchased;
   c) Use and distribution of equipment and facilities;
   d) Most needed areas for in-service training of teachers.

   By the same token, the administration should hold the foreign language department accountable for properly discharging these responsibilities.

7) No English announcements over the PA system should ever be allowed to come into a foreign language class. I cannot stress this point too much. If the building is on fire the announcement might be made, but teacher and pupils would have already smelled the smoke! Everything else a pupil does during his entire life actively de-learns the foreign language because all his other life is dependent on English. One English announcement can completely destroy the work of pupils and teachers not just for that hour, but if that hour is the climax of a week's work, the whole thing can be ruined. In case you think I am exaggerating this point, I add that in a school not too far from Atlanta just a week or two ago, a foreign language teacher was giving an oral test. The squawk box blared out with an office helper's voice: "Mr. X, Mrs. Y wants to know what you are planning to do about Johnny Z this afternoon." That was the end of the foreign language for that week. Could the teacher and pupils avoid getting the idea that, in the office, foreign language classes aren't worth much?

8) As administrators you can actively encourage your foreign language teachers to maintain their foreign language oral skills. Improvement or even maintenance of these skills at the level of personal competence is inevitably required for better teaching. I can assure you that in our region it is very hard sometimes for a teacher to maintain these oral skills.

This is probably another case of the first shall be last. Very few administrators are themselves masters of a foreign language. For this reason, I come back to the point of urging you to try to understand something of the nature of language and language learning. This is one of the most exciting fields of research in contemporary education. This research is being done in areas of psycho-linguistics, neurology, bio-linguistics, philosophy, etc. It might even be rewarding for the administration and foreign language department to have some learning sessions together.

Foreign Language At College and University Level

Charles Parnell
University of Notre Dame

Foreign language study on the college or university level should be the continuation of a sequence and not the beginning of language experience. College courses should not stand aloof and alone, neither aware nor wishing to be aware of what the students have previously accomplished. They must be a culminating point of a sequence, carrying all previous labors to their full fruition. Since it is a fact of the whole educational process that the farther one goes, the more one must of necessity specialize, the colleges and universities must also make due provision for specialization. It is the long, full development of skills and proficiencies in the earlier phases of language learning in the grades, the junior highs and the high schools which makes possible the specialization in college — a specialization which does not mean a narrowing, a limiting, but rather a deepening.

The kind of language study which I would envision for the colleges and universities presupposes very real, very great and thorough results in the earlier parts of the sequence. We should be able to expect of the students coming to us from high school effective mastery of the foreign language sound, intonation, and rhythm systems. They should also have automatic control over all high frequency structures used in informal speaking and writing, both for receiving by listening and reading and for producing by speaking and writing. For reading and listening they should have become familiar with most common structural (morphological and syntactical) aspects of the more careful level of language normally used in lecturing and in simple to average literary works and criticism. Their active vocabulary should be adequate for sustained conversation of non-technical nature and writing of personal letters and simple reports. Their recognition vocabulary would be rather more extensive so that they could follow a class lecture, or read a modern newspaper, review, short story, or uncomplicated novel in the foreign language.

In describing what we should be able to expect of the products of a long sequence as they reach college, I have so far spoken only of language skills and have indicated the degree of proficiency we expect in the basic skills of listening comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing. But that is not all. We can also anticipate that they will have had some contact with literary texts and have become accustomed to using their language skills in obtaining information and in beginning to enjoy, to analyze and to judge the texts they read. We should also expect that they have some basic reliable information about the civilization and culture of the nation or nations where the foreign language is used, this information being more of the present than of the historical, more of the daily than of the exotic or rare, the type of information without which one cannot really use a language at all. Perhaps the greatest thing that we can expect, ask for, and plead for, is a continued motivation and an enthusiastic desire to learn.

Given these achievements in the earlier stages of the sequence, the students reaching the colleges will be ready to continue their development, to carry it to the highest point possible within the framework of formal education (let us admit that we have never finished learning, either a foreign language or our own, a foreign literature or our own, never become aware of all the implications of any culture). As previously suggested, this fullest development will require, of most of our students, fairly early, perhaps even from the first, the choice of one main current, a main field, within the offering of the language department. The language department I am speaking of will provide the possibilities of several streams, parallel, interconnected, but distinct, each contributing to the other, but each meeting the needs, the interests, the special abilities of different groups of students. These streams, as I see them, would be: 1. humanistic knowledge and appreciation of literature and belles-lettres; 2. advanced language, professionally oriented; 3. linguistics; 4. civilization and culture; 5. pedagogical or professional training for teaching.

Now let us indicate some of the things to be included in each of these streams, to show at once how they differ and how they interrelate.

Belles-lettres or literature, which probably would seem to be the most traditional of the college language offerings, includes a continuation and extension of knowledge of and ability to use the structures, the vocabulary, of both oral and written language on all levels from the most familiar to the most formal, but this particularly in view of the ability to deal with the great literary pieces of the present and of the past. It further offers specific training to develop stylistic sensitivity, to give the type of literary knowledge needed for appreciation and criticism. It prepares for even further specialization in the graduate school. The goal is to have foreign literature treated as literature, just as though the student were studying the piece in his mother tongue.

The professionally oriented advanced language stream would extend previous skills through special technical finishing courses in applied language. It would provide experience and training for the future professional translator, the simultaneous interpreter, the language specialist for industry or government service abroad. It also provides for special accelerated courses in a second, third, or fourth language, presented audio-lingually, making use of an awareness of linguistics and of the prior experience of learning thoroughly one or more other foreign languages. It is within this framework that the rare and exotic languages will be offered. This stream would most normally be considered terminal as its products would be ready to enter their profession.

Linguistics, on the undergraduate level, should not only serve as a handmaid to each of the other streams, as we shall see presently, but should be a field of possible specialization for the undergraduate student interested in the phenomenon of speech and human communication. It could offer solid courses, both theoretical and applied, normally to be followed by further study in the graduate school.

Civilization and culture, while contributing to the development of students in literature and professionally-oriented applied language, offers an excellent opportunity for studies extending beyond the boundaries of any one department. There is no reason why there should not be a sort of undergraduate area studies program, with courses in history, political science, economics, the arts, music, etc., related to a specific country or language group. In larger schools these courses could be given in the foreign language; otherwise follow-up discussion of the courses could be done by members of the language department or by native informants working with the students.

Teacher training or the pedagogical stream would offer a continuation of the development of the language skills on a broader, non-specialized basis, with special emphasis on aspects of the language to be taught at some specific level. Again, without over specialization, it must make sure that the students intending to teach are aware of the implications of applied linguistics, of literature, of civilization and culture in the teaching of a foreign language. It must inform the future teachers of methods, techniques, materials demonstrated to be the most effective and efficient in teaching students of a particular level and afford them the opportunity to observe fine teaching and to teach under fully qualified critic teachers.

From the statement of the above distinct but interrelated streams, there follow certain implications. First of all, the college organizing its undergraduate program in this manner must provide staff members able to teach in the specific field; for too long we have had literary scholars called on to teach beginning language courses, which they sometimes can do, but frequently cannot. Old hierarchies of teachers as well as the traditional graduate school preparation of future college teachers will have to be altered. Less able or less trained teachers will not be concentrated or considered acceptable for some of the courses which traditionally have enjoyed less prestige than the advanced literature courses, for example. Good teaching and teaching-oriented research would be encouraged, rather than having teachers prepared in one field, doing most of their teaching on a level which they openly or secretly consider below them and splitting themselves between what they actually need to know and the type of material accepted for publication, and hence valuable in obtaining their advancement in the academic world.

A second implication is that the science of language, linguistics, is a base for all the streams of study, contributing more directly to some than others, but shedding new light on all.

It is also evident that all the distinct streams are interrelated. Literature cannot exist without knowledge of the language, nor can a person be truly proficient in the use of a foreign language without at least a general knowledge of the literature written in that language. Neither the language nor the literature can be mastered without a contributing knowledge of the culture of a people. And we have all too often seen the disastrous effects on teachers in the high school of divorce of literature and professional training, through the neglect of one or the other.

A final implication relates to methods and techniques in the college classes. All beginning language classes, for those adding other languages, common or exotic, will be audio-lingual based on the latest findings of applied linguistics, and making full use of all modern teaching aids, such as audio-visuals, including the language laboratory.

In all language courses of any one of the streams there will be an insistence on total development of all the various related language skills. All reading, lecture, seminars, and discussions will be in the foreign language, thus motivating the acquisition of the skills, giving opportunity to practice and extend them. In short, the college classes should, in themselves, be models of good teaching, in strict accord with principles which we try to instill in the future teachers we are training. For here, as elsewhere, what you do always speaks more convincingly than what you say.

In line with the implications which I have just outlined, I should like to propose certain possible innovations (some of which are already in use in a certain number of colleges and universities).

1. I would propose that, along with courses in whatever language the student is studying, he should have a brief course in general linguistics during the first semester of his freshman year, followed by either a beginning course in a new language making use of his knowledge of linguistics or by a course in linguistics applied to the language which he is continuing to study, having begun it much earlier.

2. I would suggest much greater use of team teaching, not only for language courses, but also for literature, civilization, and professional training. In language courses, for example, a highly experienced, well-trained, well-organized professor would be placed in charge of the course; drill groups, work with audio-visuals, laboratory sessions, testing, could be in the hands of carefully oriented, well-supervised assistants. This would alleviate the tendency to place more elementary courses, which are at the base of the whole structure, in the hands of inexperienced graduate students, left to their own devices.

3. The language laboratory, rather than a technical marvel to be shown to visitors, must be used efficiently. It should be the home work of elementary language courses. It should always be available for individual remedial or supplementary work. It should provide library service for listening to recordings of great literary works and of plays and poetry. It can have practical applications for exercises in linguistics and applied language. It can permit contact with cultural documents, recordings of normal conversations, interviews, lectures, etc.

4. In similar manner, all other audio-visual aids, including films, records, tapes, various types of projectors, charts, maps, etc., should

not be limited in their use to the language classes. They have limitless applications in all the streams of development.

5. Library holdings should be reviewed to remedy the traditional imbalance in favor of literary studies only.

6. Study abroad should be encouraged, either in a complete sophomore or junior year, or in summer seminars, preferably organized and supervised by the school and incorporated into its regular program. Students, products of the longer language sequences which we would now expect, will profit much more from the experience abroad than did many of those who have studied in other countries but lacking the necessary preparation.

7. With the number of foreign students always on a college campus these days, plans should be made to use them as informants, giving our students opportunity to use their language and, through informal contacts with these foreign students, to learn much more about their country and its cultural tradition. This is a much better use of foreign students than placing them in a classroom in charge of a course for which most of them have little or no training. As true informants, they are perhaps even better if not prepared in language teaching, as most of them are not.

8. Advanced related courses in history, government, the arts, etc., should, insofar as possible, be available to students with readings and lectures in the foreign language.

9. It would be desirable to have ability sectioning, with special recognition of gifted students, and special type of credit given for outstanding work in honors sections.

10. The language department should engage in constant evaluation of its offerings, of the methods and materials used, of its own personnel, and particularly of the results achieved by the students. This should include continued contact in a systematic way with the students after graduation.

11. And, finally, the college department should carefully correlate its sections, its courses, its streams. It should make sure of articulation within its own sequences and with the high schools before it and with the graduate schools after. This involves talk, discussion, planning - building together.

For those institutions of higher learning which have graduate schools, several of the streams discussed above should be provided for. I do not feel that professionally oriented language study has any place in the graduate school. Continued area studies should not be a part of the graduate department of foreign languages, or at most should be a joint effort to which modern languages contributes the services of its specialists. Beyond the M.A. in teaching, I do not believe the pedagogical stream should continue to be a part of the language department. For both M.A. and Ph.D. there remains, therefore, graduate work in literature, and graduate work in descriptive, historical, and applied linguistics. Too often, I feel, these two disciplines have gone their own ways, completely divorced, when they have so much in common and can contribute so much to each other if properly correlated. As for the teaching in the graduate school, let us hope that it will make full use of all the skills, proficiencies, and knowledge which we have built up through our long, carefully articulated sequence which has preceded it in the elementary and secondary schools and in the undergraduate college.

Principles of Language Instruction at the College Level

Pierre Delattre
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At a meeting of language representatives of all the branches of the University of California, held at Lake Arrowhead in November, 1965, it was proposed that the following principles serve as a guide for modern language instruction. Aims, methods, and techniques were considered separately.

1. AIMS

A language student must be introduced simultaneously to a new medium of communication and a new culture pattern. The aim will therefore be twofold — to equip the student with the skills required for effective communication in the second language, and to impart to the student, through the skills and with the skills, an understanding of the foreign people and their culture.

It is convenient to consider four kinds of skills — listening comprehension, speaking, reading comprehension, and writing — as well as five levels of culture — customs, geography, history, fine arts, and literature.

Emphasis on literature will not begin before the intermediate level and will be maximal at the advanced and graduate levels, for literature cannot be fully understood until the four skills have been mastered.

2. METHODS

Of the four skills, those of listening comprehension and speaking will be emphasized first and will be taught simultaneously. The skills of reading comprehension and writing will not receive emphasis until listening and speaking habits have been acquired. At the very early stage, therefore, the student will be taught to read and write only what he can already understand and say. Thus the skills of reading and writing will derive naturally from those of listening and speaking.

But why must speaking precede writing?

1) Because it is the natural order — the spoken form precedes the written form in one's mind, even when writing; historically, the written form would not exist if the spoken form had not preceded it. (There is no value, however, to the common argument that the child learns to speak before he learns to write, for an adult and a child do not necessarily follow the same pattern of learning.)

2) Because the written form is often a mask which hides the true phonological form of language. The spelling of "knight," for instance, represents the Medieval pronunciation [knixt] rather than the modern sounds [najt]; the "s" letters of **legs** and **lakes** represent two different sounds, [z] and [s], respectively.

3) Because spelling is one of the main sources of poor pronunciation of a foreign language. It is a major source of interference. The sight of a written letter excites the reflex of the first-language habits. At the sight of an **r** symbol, for instance, the tongue of an American withdraws to form a palatal constriction which interferes sharply with the tongue position required for German, Spanish, or French vowels.

4) Because writing does not adequately represent intonation, rhythm, stress, pause, or any other prosodic feature.

5) Because language is first of all an oral-aural process of communication. Its written form is used to communicate the oral form at a distance in time and space.

6) Because literature is made of language and cannot be fully understood without appropriate language skill.

7) Because it has been observed that students who have mastered a language orally can learn to read it by themselves, whereas students who have learned to decipher script cannot learn to speak the language of the script by themselves.

8) Because objective experiments have shown that students who start audio-lingually without a book become superior to those who do not, both in speaking and listening ability, without being inferior to them in reading ability. (Reference is made here to the recent German experiment by Scherer and Wertheimer at the University of Colorado, and the twenty-year old French experiment at the University of Oklahoma.)

The Listening and Speaking Skills

A. Speaking will not be preceded by a prolonged listening period. Experiments have shown that students who are required to speak (repeat aloud) immediately after hearing, from the beginning, make better grades on speaking tests as well as on listening tests than those who listen without speaking, at first.

B. Appropriate use of linguistic research applied to language teaching will be made. This research rigorously describes languages as sound systems and grammatical systems as they function to communicate. "Contrastive linguistics," a branch of "applied linguistics," furnishes us an accurate comparison of the phonology and grammar of the student's first language and target language. Linguistics teaches us, for instance, that the common plural of English nouns is made, not by adding an **s** to the singular, but by adding the sound [s], as in **picks**, the sound [z], as in **pigs**, or the sound [iz], as in **peaches**.

C. Teaching will not be done abstractly. For instance, grammar will not be taught **per se**, but by the manipulation of sentence structures; pronunciation will not be taught in isolated sounds but in meaningful context.

D. Extensive use of oppositions will be made:

Phonemic oppositions: Your cap is here / Your cab is here.

Prosodic oppositions: You must go. 2-3-1 / You must go? 2-1-4

Morphemic oppositions: He remembers / He remembered.

Syntactic oppositions: The cat sees the mouse / The mouse sees the cat.

E. Translation will be avoided in the early stages. Students will be led to "think" in the target language, so that at a very advanced stage, when they attempt to translate, they will "rethink" the sentence in the target language.

F. The teaching material will use real-life situations. For this reason the dialogue form will, at first, be preferred to the narrative form. Narratives are not to be excluded entirely, however, even at the most elementary stage.

G. Vocabulary will not be emphasized in the first stage. The acquisition of an extensive vocabulary will be subordinated to a knowledge of the sound and grammar structures and will largely be reserved for the late reading stage.

H. Grammar will be taught by means of structural drills of substitution and transformation rather than by grammatical analysis and the formulation of rules. In learning a second language, one really "knows" grammar when one has acquired new speech habits with fluency. However, emphasis on pattern practice does not mean that students should not understand what they are practicing. Quite the contrary. But their understanding must proceed inductively by means of concrete oppositions. Before students are sent to the language laboratory for practice and reinforcement, the instructor should acquaint them thoroughly with the "models" of their laboratory assignment, and perhaps furnish additional illustrations, to make them conscious of the grammatical opposition they are learning to use. Furthermore, there will be no objection to the discussion of grammar rules so long as this discussion takes place **well after** the grammatical habits have been acquired.

I. In teaching to read aloud, English equivalents, such as "**a** as in father, **ai** as in day" will not be used. Equivalence between two languages is never accurate. Instead of English equivalents, "key-words" selected from sentences in the target language will be used as spelling guides. Those words will have been memorized to perfection by direct imitation at the very start of the pre-reading period.

J. All paradigm learning will be avoided. Verb forms will be learned in dialogue sequence rather than in the unrelated six-person sequence of traditional grammar.

The Reading-Comprehension Skill

Learning to read for comprehension will begin with reading what one can understand orally and say. Only after the student can read aloud with an accurate pronunciation will he be allowed to read for comprehension what he cannot say.

The Writing Skill

Learning to write will begin with writing what one can say and with composing freely by rearranging what one can say.

It will continue with doing grammatical transformation exercises in writing, similar in nature to those of oral drills but involving more structural complexity.

It will end with translation of literary masterpieces into the target language and with free composition in narrative and dramatic form. At this stage, nothing better than copious reading of masterpieces will lead to appropriate choice of words, to syntactical refinements, and to effective use of images.

3. TECHNIQUES

A. Learning the listening and speaking skills efficiently will depend on proper coordination between classroom teaching and language laboratory practice.

B. The language laboratory will be used not as a classroom but as a study room for audio-lingual homework. During the pre-reading period, the language laboratory will be used to do all the homework. Thereafter, it will be used to do a portion of the homework.

C. Language learning will begin with a pre-reading period of at least one month. During this period, no book or pen will be used. All material will be learned in class from the instructor's voice and overlearned in the laboratory from tapes. The quantity of material will be extremely limited so as to permit the student to acquire habits of correct pronunciation and of direct association between sound and meaning.

D. Just as the book assignment and written assignment are daily assignments, so the language laboratory assignment is a daily one. That is, for every class meeting there is a language laboratory assignment.

E. At least a portion of every language laboratory assignment will be unprinted material, not found in the textbook or anywhere else. Students will have no other medium than the magnetic tape to learn this unprinted material. If this is done, the daily attendance in the laboratory will not have to be made compulsory.

F. In the language laboratory, students will use neither book nor pen; they will work purely audio-lingually.

G. Language laboratory drills will be short enough to permit the students to repeat them until the desired degree of fluency is attained. It is estimated that they will repeat a drill from five to ten times.

H. The language laboratory will comprise as many individual booths as necessary to allow each student to practice an average of one half-hour per day. Students with low language aptitude will be allowed to stay longer if they wish. Yet no student will be forced to stay longer than 30 minutes.

I. All laboratory practice will be individual. The console will not be used for sending programs to the booths but for monitoring by advanced students who will see that the exercises are done efficiently, pronounced correctly, etc.

J. Each booth of a language laboratory will have a high-fidelity tape-recorder, a microphone, and headphones. It will be possible for each student to work at his own pace — start, stop, reverse, repeat at will.

K. Audio-lingual assignments will be available not from a console or a center but from a library of tape reels. Students will obtain individual tapes from the library and return them after use. Tapes of previous lessons will be available for review at all times from the same tape library.

L. Each tape-recorder will have two channels — one for the master stimulus and the master reinforcement (correct response by the master) which cannot be erased, the other for the student response, so that students will be able to back-up and compare their response with the master reinforcement and know immediately how correct their response was.

M. The duplicating of tapes, to build up the tape library, will not be done from the console to the booths but by means of high-fidelity tape duplicators outside of the laboratory proper. This is the only way to obtain tapes with a quality equal to that of the master tape.

N. All language laboratories will be of the "library" type. This will provide a maximum of efficiency and individual freedom. Reasons for which the "center," "dial," or any other remote control type of laboratory is not desirable follow: (a) When the learner dials his program, some other learner is likely to have dialed it before him and he has to wait for the beginning of the program to return. If he uses no book, as should be the case in a well-planned program, he may have great difficulty in finding where his assignment begins. (b) The first time the complete assignment is heard (while it is being recorded from the center to or for the student booth), the learner has no control over it — he cannot start, stop, reverse, repeat at will and his time is partly wasted. (c) When, at last, after two periods of waiting, the learner has a recording over which he has control, the recording is of poor quality compared with a tape taken from the tape library.

Q. Teaching by television will not be allowed in the early stages because it precludes **correction** by the instructor and **participation** by the students — two indispensible features of efficient teaching. The use of television will, however, be encouraged at later stages, especially in the teaching of civilization.

Foreign Languages and the Human Community*

William P. Pressley
President, Westminster Schools
President-elect, Southern Association
of Colleges and Schools

The other day I went down to the gymnasium too late for the J.V. basketball game and just before the varsity game. Three boys were standing outside between games. "How did the first game come out?" I asked. "They won," came the response. "Well, I guess I must school myself against being a poor loser; I hate to lose." "But, Sir, Westminster did win. **They** — the team — won."

Notice the far-reaching implication of his error, referring to his classmates as **they**. There is an **In Group** and an **Out Group** and only you and I are **In**, and all the others are **Out** - - -, **they.**

How like us Americans! It is exactly the traditional attitude we have had toward people of other nations. In spite of our being the "melting pot," we have referred to individuals from other countries as "foreigners," "they."

But, today, that attitude is changing, and no wonder; for we are becoming internationally minded.

Statistics in **Open Doors 1965** of the Institute of International Education show that 18,092 university students are studying abroad; The Experiment in International Living estimates that 14,000 high school students are studying abroad. In addition to this, 3,793 United States faculty members are abroad teaching and studying.

The number of Americans in the business community resident abroad is an unknown quantity. Neither the International Chamber of Commerce nor the Department of State could give a definite figure, though the estimate is approximately 20,000.

Of course, there are thousands of civilians abroad as employees of the Defense Department, other thousands in the Foreign Service personnel; hundreds of missionaries are in foreign fields, and hundreds of thousands of Americans are abroad in military service. Add to these figures the fact that travel takes so many out of the country that today over a million passports are issued annually.

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*This chapter was the address to close the Conference on Saturday, February 4, 1966.

This surge of Americans going abroad, for one reason of another, certainly accentuates the fact that people from other countries are no longer **foreigners**. No longer can we refer to them as **they**. We are all in this world together, and we are determined to be able to communicate.

A great deal of the interest in other countries and peoples has come as a result of our nation's moving into world leadership, and leadership no longer means colonialism and domination. Leadership still means power — demonstrable military power — but it also, more significantly, means food and medicine and help, the peoples that **have** giving to those that **have not** and helping them rise to the level of the **haves**.

It is this opportunity for helping through self-sacrifice that has swept our young people into an idealistic mood, on the one hand, bringing open rebellion against our war in Viet Nam, in demonstrations for peace, and on the other hand, bringing thousands to volunteer for service in the Peace Corps — really another, and more acceptable, evidence of the same idealism.

Young people today want to serve mankind, because it is the fair thing to do. I predict that in the next decade, barring atomic destruction at the hands of a madman, or a long succession of Viet Nams, to give two or three years of one's young life to improve the lot of the **have-nots** of the world is going to be the accepted thing — hundreds of thousands of young men and women dedicating years of their lives to others.

All of this is to say that in the last quarter of the century, there will be no foreigners in the world — the pronoun **they** will be changed to **we**. **We** will intermingle the world over. One world, indeed!

Yesterday, you teachers of other languages had an almost insurmountable problem. Your students were not motivated; most of them never expected to use another language. Today, your students are mildly motivated. Tomorrow they will be terrifically motivated, for they will be determined to communicate with their friends around the world.

Yesterday, your method was — may I be frank? It was **dull.** Back in my college days, we referred to our French class, with no concept, I admit, of Browning's intent, but with clear insight into the mood of teacher and class, as "The Grammarian's Funeral," and we buried the French language day after day. Today, your methods are admirable. The audio-visual-lingual method seems to me to approach the second language just as the first language was approached, and this method must be sound.

Of course, we still have problems. The problems that have seemed most obvious to me are that of tardiness, that of articulation, and that of choice.

By tardiness, I mean our hesitancy to begin instruction early enough. We are late when we begin.

If we believe that the second language should be taught in the way the first was learned, why don't we believe in beginning it at the same time? Last spring I visited a friend who, for fifteen years, has lived in Guatemala City, marrying a national, a Spanish speaking girl. Though he speaks Spanish fluently and she speaks English fluently, I noticed that in a conversation in their living room, their children addressed their remarks to their father in English and their remarks to their mother in Spanish — all in one general conversation. I was completely confused, but the children were right at home!

In more and more homes in the United States this very situation is going to be duplicated. Some children already come to kindergarten using two languages.

Since this is true, it seems logical to me to begin the second language for all children as early as possible — in the kindergarten year or in the nursery school with the three-and-four-year olds.

Out at Westminster, the beginning year is the pre-first grade — formerly called the kindergarten. We changed the name to pre-first when we realized we were teaching the children all the things we used to begin in the first grade — reading, numbers, and French. With us, French instruction begins the first day the child walks into the school and it is taught throughout the year, four times a week. The course is not just a smattering of French words; it is an opportunity to hear flawless French, to imitate the sounds in whole phrases and sentences, and to see many scenes and actions from French life — all enthusiastically presented by a native French person.

The second problem is that of articulation. Trying to overcome this problem, the classes in French are continued throughout the thirteen years — kindergarten through the twelfth grade. At the third grade, the classes begin meeting five times a week and the periods are forty minutes, having been thirty minutes for the first three years.

The complete French program requires a total of eleven French teachers. Every teacher speaks French fluently and no teacher uses English in the classroom.

The aims of our program are to provide the students with fluency in the language as spoken by educated natives, to give extensive practice in reading for enjoyment without translation, to attain a good, practical ability to write, to gain thorough knowledge of the culture and civilization of the people living in France — not only an historical knowledge of the culture, but a thorough acquaintance with the social life of the people as a reflection of their culture — and to acquire an introduction to the history of thought as presented by the writers, essayists, and philosophers of France.

The aim, then, is a mastery of the language. Obviously, articulation is not as easy as it seems on paper. There are thirteen years of French, but how can the high school student, particularly the boy, find time for French each year, with the science department, the mathematics department, all other departments luring him? One solution I have long cherished is going to be offered this fall. It is the two-in-one solution. Take two courses while seeming to take one — teaching Modern European History in French texts with a French teacher.

The third problem I want to mention — by now you have noticed that each of my problems is, in a sense, administrative — is that of the choice of language. I am sure today that I have seemed partial to French. In reality, I cherish equally any number of languages. Ideally, a child (or his family) should be permitted to choose his second language and the school offer him the courses from the kindergarten through the twelfth grade. Actually, at school, this arrangement is financially impossible. We found we had to select one language for the elementary school. French was chosen as one of the most helpful languages for our children.

We do offer Spanish and German at the first year possible, with Spanish beginning in the seventh grade. The students are largely drawn from the group entering the school at the junior high level. The purposes here are similar to those described in the French program. My regret is that we have not found a way to offer still other languages — already our classes are small through the high school years, with Spanish, German, French, and Latin being offered.

There is still another problem which I want to mention. It is one phase of the second question we discussed — articulation. It is the matter of articulation with colleges and universities. All of us in secondary-school work are interested in what the college wants. We assume that the achievement examinations of the College Board and the Advanced Placement Examinations give the colleges adequate information on the level of achievement of a student. If this is true, secondary school-men need have no worries about placement. We can devote our attention to attaining the goal of sending the students to college able to use another language.

How inappropriate it is today to mention any **problems** in the teaching of languages! Actually, the problems are all minor; for the world situation has motivated American students to want to communicate with their brothers around the world in an endeavor to help them. This is the golden age for the teacher of other languages. The opportunity is yours. Administrators the country over would like to help you establish language classes at the beginning of the elementary school, form a smooth articulation between elementary school and secondary school and between secondary school and college, and make it possible for a child to pursue the language of his choice until he has mastered it — indeed, administrators would like ultimately to set a goal of the mastery of two other languages during the usual seventeen years of the school life of a student.

The new opportunity today in education is in the field of languages. And I would remind you:

"There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."